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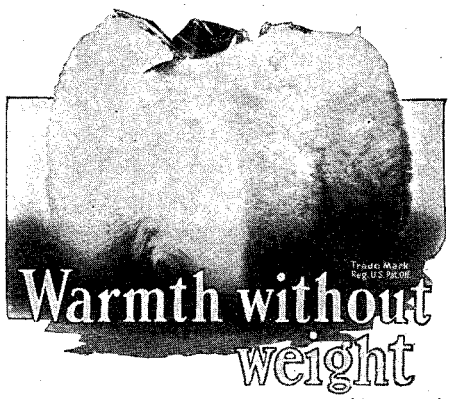

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The Outlook

SEPTEMBER 10, 1910

LYMAN ABBOTT, Editor-in-Chief. HAMILTON W. MABIE, Associate Editor
THEODORE ROOSEVELT
Contributing Editor

MR. ROOSEVELT IN THE WEST

The second week of Mr. Roosevelt's Western journey, extending from Cheyenne to Sioux Falls, had for its most notable events the Frontier Day exercises at Cheyenne and the receptions and addresses at Denver, Osawatomie, Kansas City, and Omaha. Elsewhere in this issue will be found special correspondence from a member of The Outlook's staff who is accompanying Mr. Roosevelt, but we may here record also some impressions of our correspondent which reach us apart from the article printed on another page. In his judgment, no account of the reception accorded to Mr. Roosevelt could be extravagant, while the personal affection evident among the crowds was unmistakable. Our correspondent finds a parallel between the Denver demonstration and that in New York in June; there were the same sidewalks lined with dense crowds, and the same cheering, while at the meeting in the great Denver Auditorium there were fifteen thousand people present who gave the heartiest cheers of all in response to Mr. Roosevelt's exposition of the principles of Conservation. Both at Denver and at Kansas City Mr. Roosevelt made an appeal to the American people to fight for the public welfare, not only for their own sake, but also for the sake of the nations of the world who are looking to America to see the outcome of our great democratic experiment. Before the Legislature at Denver the remarks made by Mr. Roosevelt about the neutral ground between State and Federal Governments and about the effect of court decisions were substantially the same as the passages on these subjects in his editorial called "The Pioneer Spirit and American Problems," to be found on another page. An incident characteristic of the man took place at Denver. Judge Lindsey, whose denunciation of corruption in high places among both parties in Denver is everywhere known, had not been invited to sit on the platform with the prominent men of the city. Mr. Roosevelt sent for him, cordially thanked him for his efforts against corporate and personal wrongdoing, and insisted that Judge Lindsey should march up the aisle with him and take a place upon the platform. Our correspondent notes that Mr. Roosevelt showed consummate skill in controlling his audience at Denver, and adds that when he saw any portion of them applauding his attack on the faults of others he held their interest perfectly until he got them heartily applauding his attack on the faults of their own class. The Osawatomie speech will undoubtedly be historical, and our correspondent confirms the impression already received in the East that the entire West regards this speech as the raising of the standard for the Progressive movement throughout the country. Finally, our correspondent comments on the meeting at Kansas City, Missouri, as the greatest of all, for the Convention Hall was packed with at least twenty thousand people, the largest audience ever seen there, even at a National political convention; the people were almost wildly joyous in their demonstration as Mr. Roosevelt scored in turn crooked public officials and crooked private citizens, and urged that we should deal "with the rich swindler in New York or Chicago as with the horse-thief or homicide in Indian Territory," adding, "The reckless agitator who invariably singles out men of wealth as furnishing the only examples of dishonesty, and

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the equally unscrupulous—but no more unscrupulous—reactionary who can see dishonesty only in a blackmailing politician or a crooked labor leader, both stand on the same plane of obnoxiousness." This week the Congress of the National Conservation Association is taking place at St. Paul, and on another page will be found an editorial commenting on the speeches of President Taft and Mr. Roosevelt before that meeting.

THE OSAWATOMIE SPEECH

Mr. Roosevelt's speech at Osawatomie was largely devoted to expounding the doctrine of what he calls the "New Nationalism," the general view of the functions of the Federal Government which for some time past The Outlook has called the New Federalism. In this speech Mr. Roosevelt makes it clear that he is a strong Federalist, but a Federalist tempered with a confidence in both the moral honesty and the political efficiency of the people as a whole which Hamilton did not possess. We are indebted to an editorial in the New York York "Sun" for a very clear statement of what Mr. Roosevelt's theory of Federal Government means. The "Sun" rightly quotes as the essence of this theory the following paragraphs from the Osawatomie speech:

"The New Nationalism is impatient of the utter confusion that results from local legislatures attempting to treat National issues as local issues."

"It is still more impatient of the impotence which springs from the over-division of Government powers."

"This New Nationalism regards the Executive power as the steward of the public welfare."

"It demands of the Judiciary that it shall be interested primarily in human welfare rather than in property, just as it demands that the representative body shall represent all the people rather than one class or section of the people."

These four statements of the aims of the New Nationalism the "Sun" calls "a doctrine more nearly revolutionary than anything that ever proceeded from the lips of any American who has held high office in our Government." If this doctrine is revolutionary, it logically follows that the people do not now possess the powers or the rights which the New Nationalism aims to give them. The Outlook earnestly and thoroughly approves of the doctrine as stated by Mr. Roosevelt, and believes that the "Sun's" presentation of his speech is a significant indication that there is a fundamental and perhaps critical issue before the people of this country to-day. There is unquestionably a large body of American citizens, found perhaps in greater numbers in the East than in the West, who regard the doctrine of the New Nationalism as revolutionary; there is also a large body of citizens, we believe in the majority, who regard it, not as revolutionary, but as essential to the future progress and stability of American democracy. If Mr. Roosevelt's Osawatomie speech has done nothing else, it has made the issue clear. In our judgment, the reason why he is greeted with the enthusiasm which his visit West has aroused is because, either consciously or subconsciously, he is recognized as the most prominent and the most efficient exponent and exemplar of this doctrine in this country to-day.

THE PRESIDENT'S CAMPAIGN PAPER: HISTORY

President Taft's letter to the Chairman of the National Congressional Committee, telling why voters should cast their ballots for Republican nominees for Congress this November, is an admirable campaign document—and more. It has in its moderate tone and its concise and effective summary of past history the characteristics of a Presidential Message. The Outlook agrees with Mr. Taft that it is very difficult to state all the principles that would govern a Democratic majority if one should be elected. This is true, not only for the reasons given by Mr. Taft—the inconsistent planks in the Democratic platform, and the repudiation by leading Democrats of certain of these planks—but also because the Democratic party consists of two wings, the conservative and the radical, which are more opposed to each other than either of them is to the avowed principles of the Republican party. We also agree with Mr. Taft that it is of the utmost importance to make the fall campaign a campaign of education as to facts, and, we should add, as to fundamental principles. We hope the campaigners will take this state-

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ment to heart, and will not content themselves with general glorification of the "G. O. P." in the style and spirit of the Ohio Republican platform. Mr. Taft's statement is largely historical. As it repeats what The Outlook has heretofore given to its readers, we shall content ourselves here with a brief résumé of the President's history of Congressional action under Republican leadership:

The tariff has been revised by what was, on the whole, downward revision, particularly on articles of necessity and raw materials.

A Tariff Commission has been created to secure needed information for the proper amendment of the law, and is now at work conducting a scientific investigation.

Under the maximum and minimum provisions of the tariff law treaties have been concluded with foreign nations securing the best possible terms for entries to their markets without sacrifice to our own.

The country has at last done justice to the Philippines by allowing the producers of those islands the benefit of our markets, with such limitations as to prevent injustice to our own industries.

A corporation tax has been provided which has many of the merits, without the defects, of an income tax.

Amendments have been made to the Inter-State Commerce Law increasing its effectiveness and the efficiency of the Inter-State Commerce Commission.

A commission has been constituted to consider the evils arising from the over-issue of stocks and bonds, and to report a remedy.

A Postal Savings Bank Bill has been enacted.

Bills have been enacted providing for an investigation and report on the kind of safety appliances required in mines, and giving the Inter-State Commerce Commission more ample powers for the protection of both employees and passengers on inter-State railways.

All doubts concerning the power of the Executive to withdraw Government lands from settlement have been put to rest by an Act of the Congress conferring such power.

An issue of bonds has been authorized to provide for a continuance of reclamation projects.

Congressional committees have been required by law to publish detailed statements of all moneys received and expended by them in Congressional campaigns.

Over thirty million dollars have been saved over the expenditures of last year, and an appropriation has been made for investigation of methods for further economies; and by these economies, coupled with the increased revenues derived from the tariff law, the deficit of $58,000,000, June 30, 1909, has been converted into a surplus of $26,000,000, August 5, 1910.

This is an excellent record. At certain points the action taken by Congress may be criticised—at certain points it has been criticised by The Outlook. But taking it all in all, these concrete achievements of Congress during Mr. Taft's Administration certainly compare favorably with those of any recent Congressional session. And while, as The Outlook has heretofore pointed out, the accomplishment is partly due to the activity of the so-called "Insurgents," much of the credit is due to President Taft; and it is all, or nearly all, to be accredited to the Republican party.

THE PRESIDENT'S CAMPAIGN PAPER: THE FUTURE

But no party can ask to be put in charge of the National affairs unless it has a programme for the future as well as a history in the past. We elect the Congress, not as a reward for what it has done, but as a means of accomplishing something to be done. What, then, is it, according to the President's letter, that a Republican Congress may be expected to do, if one should be elected? If Mr. Taft's recommendations in this letter are followed, it may be expected: To amend the tariff by revision of particular schedules, in case such revision is recommended by the Tariff Commission; to enact a practical bill for the fixing of workingmen's compensation for injuries received in the employment of inter-State commerce railways, without the delays of legal proceedings, to provide some method for the regulation of the issue of stocks and bonds by inter-

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State commerce railways; to provide a new method for river and harbor appropriations, and put an end to the present piecemeal policy of extending the construction of important improvements indefinitely; to consider and settle the question of the method of disposing of Government lands so that "the Government may retain sufficient control to prevent a monopoly in their use, and to secure the public against extortion for coal, gas, phosphate, or water power on the one hand, and yet may give to private capital sufficient inducement to bring about a normal development of the wealth contained in these lands to aid in the building up of the country." What method for this purpose does President Taft propose? In this letter he proposes no method. It may perhaps be said that a campaign document is not the place in which to propose such a method. Nevertheless, the voters in November ought to know, before they cast their vote, upon what fundamental principle the Congressional candidate voted for will act in endeavoring to secure the double result so well defined by the President. In his St. Paul speech the President proposes a plan to be applied to certain Government lands, and we have reported his plan and commented upon it elsewhere in this issue.

THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT IN NEW JERSEY

An interesting example of the widespread Progressive movement in the Republican party is found in the Seventh Congressional District of New Jersey. Mr. Richard Wayne Parker is the present incumbent of this seat, which he has held for several terms. Mr. Parker is a lawyer, and has been during the past session of Congress Chairman of the Judiciary Committee. The Progressive Republican League of New Jersey, the organization which has carried on what is known as the Colby movement for the purification of State politics in New Jersey, has now named as an opponent to Mr. Parker, Mr. Harold J. Howland. Next week the voters of the district will decide in the primaries whether Mr. Howland or Mr. Parker shall be the Republican nominee. Mr. Howland is a citizen of Montclair and a member of the editorial staff of The Outlook. The opposition to Mr. Parker is based solely upon the fact that he is identified with the "regular" or machine wing of the party and that he has been in Congress a supporter of that system of enacting legislation which is now popularly known as "Cannonism." In a statement issued by Mr. Parker preliminary to the primaries, he declines to debate on the stump the issue of Cannonism on the ground that he believes all loyal Republicans ought to avoid factional fights within the party, but he does not deny that he is associated or sympathetic with the Cannon wing of the party. He contents himself with pointing out what Congress has accomplished under this manner of administration. His opponent, Mr. Howland, on the other hand, in a public statement, does not take issue with the fact that the last session of Congress has accomplished much for the National welfare, but gives as a basis of his candidacy one simple principle, the principle which opposes "Cannonism." Mr. Howland makes it clear that the contest in which he is engaged is not a personal one, but that it is, as The Outlook has previously said of the Insurgent movement as a whole, part of a general revolution which has for its purpose the overthrow of those men who wish by means of a closely bound organization to manipulate party machines for personal ends. In the Eighth Congressional District the Progressive Republican League has another candidate for Congress, Mr. Charles H. Austin, a business man of Orange. Mr. Austin is opposed to Mr. William H. Wylie, the present Congressman, who, like Mr. Parker, is an ally of the stand-pat Republican machine. Mr. William P. Martin, who for several years both in the Assembly and in unofficial positions has been fighting the alliance of corrupt business and corrupt politics in New Jersey, is the Progressive candidate for the gubernatorial nomination. Mr. Martin and the eleven candidates for nomination to the Assembly in Essex County stand upon a platform which demands primary and election law reforms, complete publicity of campaign contributions, the regulation and taxation of public utilities, an employers' liability law,

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home rule for municipalities, and the elimination in the Legislature of the system of throttling legislation, akin to Cannonism, which has grown up there. In the contest for the Republican candidacy for United States Senator five men are engaged—the present Senator, Mr. John Kean, Mr. David Baird, the Republican boss of South Jersey, former Governors Franklin J. Murphy and Edward C. Stokes, and Charles N. Fowler, the present Representative of the Fifth Congressional District of New Jersey. The New Jersey Primary Law permits candidates for United States Senator, if they wish, to have their names presented to the voters for an expression of their preference. This expression, however, is not binding upon the members of the Legislature. Two of the Republican candidates, Mr. Kean and Mr. Baird, have declined to go before the people at the primary, but the other three have agreed to do so. Mr. Fowler is the Progressive candidate. He has taken a prominent part in the fight against Cannonism in the House of Representatives. The Republican machine in New Jersey is strong and unscrupulous, but the Progressive movement, which had its start several years ago under the leadership of Senator Colby, is continually gaining strength and will make a strong fight at the coming primary elections.

STATE CONVENTIONS

Last week the Georgia Democratic Convention nominated ex-Governor Hoke Smith to succeed Governor Joseph M. Brown, by whom Mr. Smith was defeated two years ago. Nor was this all. Mr. Smith was also indorsed for President of the United States in 1912. This action is especially notable in view of the fact that the Texas Democrats recently indorsed Senator Joseph W. Bailey as a candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination. The Georgia platform indorses all the reform measures secured by Mr. Smith during his administration as Governor, and demands further restrictions of corporation political activities. At the same time the platform declares itself as friendly to corporations in general, recognizing them as the most potential factors in the upbuilding of the country and pledging to them fullest protection and widest latitude for the legitimate conduct of their business. Equally interesting was the action of the Republican State Convention in Delaware last week. The principal plank in its platform is that approving the action taken by the House of Representatives at Washington to restrict the powers of the Speaker and to make him ineligible for service on the Committee on Rules. Conditionally with his acceptance of this restriction, the present Representative in Congress, the Hon. William H. Heald, was renominated. If he expects the support of his constituents, he will have to change his former attitude of adherence to Speaker Cannon in the recent fight to amend the rules. The Kansas Republicans at Topeka last week, in party council, congratulated President Taft on the successful outcome of the railway law, the postal savings bank law, and the campaign publicity law, but did not recognize the tariff law as a satisfactory fulfillment of the National Republican platform. Congressmen Madison and Murdock, prominent Insurgents, were commended "for their work in Congress pursuant to the instructions of the Kansas Republican platform of 1908 in modifying the rules of Congress." Another able and energetic Kansas Representative, the Hon. Philip Pitt Campbell, one of the two "regulars" who have succeeded in winning renomination in the Kansas primaries, has now "come out" against Mr. Cannon. Mr. Campbell is willing to concede that the new rules in the House of Representatives guarantee greater equality of opportunity. Another well-known Congressman and Cannon supporter, the Hon. James C. Needham, of California, who was recently renominated after defeating a more progressive rival, has also announced that he will not vote for Mr. Cannon as Speaker in the Republican caucus. Thus in every section of the country the issue of Cannonism and legislative oligarchy, instead of being pushed to the background, is forging to the fore. The people are justly demanding that the House of Representatives shall be as representative in rules as in name.

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ENJOINING A STRIKE

The principles laid down by The Outlook in its editorial on "The Use and Abuse of Injunctions," in its issue of September 3, apply, in our judgment, to the case of the cloakmakers' strike. In this case the cloakmakers demand a closed shop—that is, a shop in which no workers shall be admitted unless they are members of the union. Until that demand is granted they refuse to go back to work. They also endeavor to persuade others not to go back and take their places. And they claim this double action as their right. There is evidence to show that some of them have been guilty of violence in their attempt to prevent the hiring of substitutes. This they are alleged to have done by forcible entry of shops and destruction of property, and by assault and battery upon employees who have refused to stop work. Neither the cloakmakers nor their counsel defend such acts of violence; on the contrary, they disavow them; but their counsel has acted as counsel for those who are accused of violence. At this writing the injunction order against the strikers allowed by Judge John W. Goff has not been settled, and in the absence of exact knowledge as to its form it would be premature to comment upon it. But the extracts from the opinion of the Court given in the press indicate that the Judge goes the extreme length of affirming not only that the acts of violence are illegal and should be restrained, which no one will seriously question, but also that peaceful persuasion to induce new employees to quit their employment may be prohibited by the Court, and that even the strike in its entirety is illegal, because its object is not merely, nor even apparently mainly, to secure better terms and conditions for the employees, but to prevent any persons from accepting employment who do not join with the present cloakmakers in demanding the terms which they demand. As our readers know, we do not believe in the closed shop; we condemn the present attempt of the cloakmakers to force the closed shop on all the firms engaged in the business; and we think they have shown peculiar folly in refusing to accept the terms secured for them by Mr. Brandeis. They are following unwise counsels to their own injury. But it does not follow that the law ought to forbid their combined refusal to work unless the closed shop is granted, or to forbid their peaceful attempt to induce others to join them in such refusal; still less that the courts ought to make such a law by judicial decision. Whether Judge Goff's decision is required, as he thinks it is, by a preceding decision of the Court of Appeals, is a question which we must necessarily leave for the higher court on appeal to determine. But the law ought to be, if it is not now, that employees have a legal right to quit their employment in a body for any reason or for none at all, and by peaceful measures to induce others to do so, except in those cases in which public safety or public health will be endangered, and in such cases the public ought to provide some other method of redress for the real or fancied wrongs of the employees.

A GOOD LEGAL PRECEDENT

The English Parliament by its labor legislation recognizes fully the principles laid down in the paragraph above; principles for which laboring men should contend, to which employers can, in our judgment, interpose no reasonable objection, and which it would be well for our State Legislatures to adopt, with such modification as may be necessary to adapt them to American conditions. An Act of the British Parliament in 1906, amending a previous Act of 1875, provides that an act done in pursuance of an agreement by two or more persons shall, if done in furtherance of a trade dispute, not be actionable unless the act, if done without any such agreement, would be actionable. No one will affirm that the law should prohibit a single employee from leaving his employment because he is unwilling to work in any but a closed shop; or should prohibit him from peacefully persuading his fellow-workman to do the same. To make it perfectly clear that this is legal in Great Britain, the English law further explicitly provides that an act done by a person in furtherance of a trade dispute shall be not actionable on the ground only that it induces some other person to break a contract of employment, or that it is an interference with the business of some

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other person; and that it shall be lawful for one or more persons, acting on their own behalf, or on behalf of a trade union, to meet at or near a place of business if they so attend merely for the purpose of peacefully obtaining or communicating information, or of peacefully persuading any person to work or abstain from working. We quote the exact language of the statute except for the omission of some repetitions. Other provisions of the earlier law make illegal a strike against gas or water works (and the same principle might well apply to a transportation system) if its recognized effect will be to deprive the city wholly or to a great extent of its supply of gas or water. These provisions will be found given at length in the "Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science" for July, 1910, from which we quoted at length in the editorial above referred to. Industrial peace is desirable, but so is industrial liberty. And the courts should be able, with the example of the British Parliament before them, to preserve the peace without sacrificing the liberty.

THE GERMAN KAISER AND DIVINE RIGHT

Germany has been greatly stirred by a speech of the Kaiser in which he is supposed to have asserted his belief in the doctrine of the "divine right of kings" as opposed to Parliaments or any other form of popular government. The speech was made during a journey of Emperor William to Posen, in German Poland, where he was to dedicate a new castle or palace. It is alleged that this particular palace has been built in order to signify to the German Poles the supremacy of the German Empire; and it is not improbable that the Kaiser believed this an appropriate occasion to assert, not only the power of the Empire, but the authority of its Emperor. The particular passage which has raised objection is as follows: "My grandfather, by his own right, placed the Prussian crown upon his head and again proclaimed it to be bestowed upon him by God's grace alone, and not by parliaments, assemblages of the people, or resolutions of the people; and that he saw in himself the chosen instrument of Heaven and as such regarded his duty as regent and ruler. . . . Considering myself as the instrument of the Master, regardless of passing views and opinions, I go my way, which is solely devoted to the prosperity and peaceful development of our Fatherland." The press despatches report that the Social Democrats of Germany, whose political power has been steadily increasing, have taken this speech as a challenge by the Emperor and an assertion of despotic Imperial power. The Emperor, who is one of the ablest executives in Europe, is far too intelligent a man to espouse the cause of despotism as against constitutionalism in this day of the world. It is no doubt true that he has a very exalted idea of the position in which he has been placed both by birth and inheritance, and will not willingly submit to what he believes to be encroachments on his rights and prerogatives by either Parliament or popular criticism. To regard him, however, as a mediæval despot is singularly to misjudge his character. He is personally devout; the "modernism" in German theology has not shaken his belief in some of the doctrines of primitive Christianity. In our judgment, the passage which we have quoted is not so much a political as a religious utterance; for the Emperor probably regards the Radicals and Social Democrats as enemies of God as well as of their country. We see no reason for any political uprising in Germany or any political disturbance in Europe over a speech which is the product of what is probably a genuine, but not always wisely controlled, religious emotionalism.

THE ANNEXATION OF KOREA

Closely following the creation by the Japanese Government of a Colonial Board to administer the affairs of Formosa, Liaotung, Saghalien, and Korea comes the announcement—not an unexpected one—of the annexation of Korea. Japan thus adds to her population of about fifty millions ten to twelve million Koreans. Regarded from a military and strategic standpoint, the annexation of Korea is not an unimpressive act. As regards the actual status of Koreans, however, the annexation will make little

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difference, for, despite the existence of a shadowy so-called Korean "Government," Japanese rule has been complete enough in the peninsula ever since the Russo-Japanese War. Immediately succeeding that war there were complaints of Japanese oppression, but latterly, under the late Prince Ito as Resident-General, there has been small comparative cause for complaint. Certainly, the Korea of to-day is vastly different from what it was previous to the war. More progress towards civilization has been made in the six years since 1904 than during the preceding six centuries. First of all, by the introduction of water-works and sewers the Korean cities have been made sanitary; then highways, railways, and lighthouses have been built; telegraphs, telephones, and a postal service provided; hospitals and schools established; the courts reorganized on an enlightened basis, and, in especial, the old torture of witnesses and prisoners abolished; the currency put on a gold basis; the mining laws modified so that our mining interests in Korea have quadrupled; and, so far as general officialdom is concerned, the Japanese now in control have been generally juster in their dealings with the people than were the native officials before 1904. The Japanese have also promoted the religious as well as the material interests of the Koreans, not only by the large liberty allowed to the several hundred missionaries now engaged in work in that country, but also because of the appointment of Judge Watanabe, one of the most active and influential Christians in Japan, to the head of the Korean judiciary. This Presbyterian elder and ex-President of the Yokohama Young Men's Christian Association used the following words on assuming office: "I go to Korea, not merely to interpret and administer the law, but that I may be a witness for Christ."

ANNEXATION PRACTICALLY INEVITABLE

The annexation of the peninsula had been generally regarded, for a year or more, as practically inevitable, for the reason that the fiction of independence was neither useful nor satisfactory to the Koreans, while at the same time it greatly hampered the Japanese in the efforts that they were making to reform and regenerate a decadent civilization. As long ago as 1905 Mr. George Kennan, The Outlook's special correspondent in the Far East, pointed out the impracticability of administering Korean affairs by means of a dual government with divided powers and responsibilities, and in that connection said: "The scheme was practically unworkable from the beginning, and it was hardly worth while to adopt the unsatisfactory method of governing by advice, merely for the sake of maintaining the fiction of Korean independence. As a matter of fact, Korea is not independent, and the system of advisory control to which Japan has resorted multiplies the difficulties of administration, complicates the question of responsibility, and serves no useful purpose whatever." Within the past year this has come to be the opinion even of the Koreans—or a large part of them—and, in addition to organizing a pro-Japanese party known as the Il-Chin-Hoi, they have recently sent to the Japanese Resident-General in Seoul no less than seventeen memorials in favor of annexation. It is not probable, therefore, that the virtual abdication of the Korean Emperor and the assumption of nominal as well as actual sovereignty by the Emperor of Japan will lead to any serious disorder. So far as the interests of Western Powers are concerned, annexation will probably make no change, except perhaps in the matter of exterritoriality. Japan now controls the Korean courts, and can guarantee that justice will be done in them, and she may therefore ask the Western Powers to surrender their right to have their nationals tried in Korea by their own consuls.

WILLIAM JAMES

Professor William James as a man and a teacher is interpreted to our readers in this issue by a contributor who knew him personally. As a writer Mr. James possessed certain characteristics which distinguished him from most authors in the same field. It has been said that Henry James, the novelist, wrote romances as though they were philosophy, and William James, the philosopher, wrote philosophy as though

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it were romance. His writings were singularly free from those technicalities of language, that professional lingo, which appear to be the delight of the experts and are the despair of their non-expert readers. Like Plato, he was at once profound and palatable. He never wrote "in the air." He dealt not with the themes of the scholastics, but with the actualities of life. In his "Varieties of Religious Experience" he treats of religion as Darwin treats of emotions in his "Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals." He studies human experiences, some of them unusual, some of them morbid, but all of them well authenticated, and draws his conclusions from spiritual phenomena as a scientist would from material phenomena. Yet he does not confound the two, nor think it necessary, in order to subject spiritual phenomena to scientific treatment, to deny that they are truly spiritual. Mr. James was aided in his task by a delicate and sensitive imagination, which enabled him to understand and enter into experiences and to interpret them though he did not possess them himself. He was intensely practical, and measured philosophy as Jesus Christ measured religion, by its fruits. The test of any philosophical hypothesis was with him the way it works. He was extraordinarily open-minded; by which we mean, he was desirous only to know the truth, not to marshal selected truths to support his pre-elected hypothesis. In this respect his mind and his method were scientific, not theological. Add to these qualities the simplicity and *naïveté* of a master of style, and we get some of the elements which combined to make him to the lay reader perhaps the most interesting modern writer on philosophical themes, while at the same time a valuable contributor to the scholar's interpretation of the phenomena of the world of the spirit.

THE NEW PENNSYLVANIA STATION IN NEW YORK CITY

Last week the largest building in the world ever constructed at one time was completed and declared officially open. It is the Pennsylvania Station in New York City. On September 8 the general train service will be inaugurated—that with Long Island has already begun. In 1902 the city of New York granted a franchise authorizing the construction, maintenance, and operation of the tunnel-extension and station of the Pennsylvania system. The following year the construction of the tunnels was begun, two under the Hudson River and four under the East River. They were built by shields driven from each side of the respective rivers, and the union was completed in 1906 for the Hudson River tunnels, and in 1908 for those under the East River. The central station to which these tunnels give access is bounded by Seventh and Eighth Avenues and Thirty-first and Thirty-third Streets. The station covers about eight acres of ground. The architecture is Roman Doric. The façade suggests the imposing character of the ancient Roman temples. As a station, the architects, Messrs. McKim, Mead & White, have built what is really a monumental bridge *over* the Pennsylvania tracks. Not only is the Seventh Avenue façade second to no architectural feature of New York in point of impressiveness, but the interior of the great waiting-room is equally suggestive of the most monumental way—that of the Roman basilicas—of treating a large roofed in area. This waiting-room is the largest in the world. Within it are located the ticket offices, baggage-checking windows, and telegraph and telephone offices, so conveniently arranged that a passenger may proceed from one to the other with a minimum amount of exertion. The station and its attendant tunnels all form a monument to the undaunted confidence of Mr. Cassatt (the late President of the Pennsylvania system) in the belief that it was possible to obtain entrance into New York City for railways which formerly had their termini at Jersey City and Hoboken. At a time when many experts ridiculed the idea of tunneling the Hudson River, Mr. Cassatt was sure that the theory of Mr. Charles M. Jacobs, the eminent engineer who undertook the work, was correct. In season and out of season he labored to persuade his colleagues, and finally induced them to make a preliminary grant. This first step taken, the rest followed, and the great

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new station in New York City is not only a model of what such a structure should be, but also the outward and visible sign of a triumph hidden under the waters of the Hudson River.

THE PIONEER SPIRIT AND AMERICAN PROBLEMS

For a number of years I have believed and urged the principles I set forth in the following article. Their presentation here is in substance what I said in three recent speeches at Cheyenne, Denver, and Omaha.

The men who have made this great republic what it is, and especially the men who have turned it into a continental commonwealth, have possessed in the highest degree the great virile virtues of strength, courage, energy, and undaunted and unwavering resolution. Their typical leaders—of whom Abraham Lincoln, though the most exceptional, was the most typical—have possessed keen intelligence, and a character not merely strong but lofty, a character exalted by the fact that great power was accompanied by a high and fine determination to use this great power for the common good, for the advancement of mankind. Such men were the builders of New England. As the country grew, such men were the pioneers that pushed the frontiers of civilization westward. A hundred years ago, when men spoke of the West, they meant the country between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi. Fifty years ago the white man's West took in Minnesota, Iowa, and Kansas, and then skipped across to California and Oregon. The country of the great plains and the Rockies has grown up within my own lifetime. I myself saw and took part in the closing years of the pioneer period, and it was my great privilege to work side by side with the pioneers—the ranchmen, the miners, the cow-punchers, the mule-skinners, the bull-whackers—who actually opened up the country. I now travel in every comfort on railways across lands which, when I first rode across them, were still the home of the Indian and the buffalo; and I find cities where one can obtain not merely comfort but luxury, in the places where, thirty years ago, there was not a building beyond a log hut or a 'dobe house. The men who did this work were engaged in the final stages of conquering the continent; and it was their privilege to do one of the great works of all time, to do their part in the performance of an epic feat in the history of the progress of mankind.

The pioneer days are over, save in a few places; and the more complex life of to-day calls for a greater variety of good qualities than were needed on the frontier. There is need at present to encourage the development of new abilities which can be brought to high perfection only by a kind of training useless in pioneer times; but these new qualities can only supplement, and never supplant, the old, homely virtues; the need for the special and distinctive pioneer virtues is as great as ever. In other words, as our civilization grows older and more complex, while it is true that we need new forms of trained ability, and need to develop men whose lives are devoted wholly to the pursuit of special objects, it is yet also true that we need a greater and not a less development of the fundamental frontier virtues.

These qualities, derived from the pioneers, were not confined to the pioneers. They are shown in the deeds of the Nation; and especially in the two great feats which during the past decade have made the deepest impression abroad—the cruise of the battle fleet around the world, and the digging of the Panama Canal.

Now, there is no use of a nation claiming to be a great nation, unless it is prepared to play a great part. A nation such as ours cannot possibly play a great part in international affairs, cannot expect to be treated as of weight in either the Atlantic or the Pacific, or to have its voice as to the Monroe Doctrine or the management of the Panama Canal heeded, unless it has a strong and thoroughly efficient navy. So far from this increase in naval strength representing on our part either a menace of aggression to weaker nations or a menace of war to stronger nations, it has told most powerfully for peace. No nation regarded the cruise as fraught with any menace of hostility to

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itself; and yet every nation accepted it as a proof that we were not only desirous ourselves to keep the peace, but able to prevent the peace being broken at our expense. No cruise in any way approaching it has ever been made by any fleet of any other Power; and the best naval opinion abroad had been that no such feat was possible; that is, that no such cruise as that we actually made could be undertaken by a fleet of such size without innumerable breakdowns and accidents. The success of the cruise, performed as it was without a single accident, immeasurably raised the prestige, not only of our fleet, but of our Nation; and was a distinct help to the cause of international peace.

As regards the Panama Canal, I really think that outside nations have a juster idea than our own people of the magnitude and success of the work. Six years ago last spring the American Government took possession of the Isthmus. The first two years were devoted to the sanitation of the Isthmus, to assembling the plant and working force, and providing quarters, food, and water supplies. In all these points the success was extraordinary. From one of the plague-spots of the globe, one of the most unhealthy regions in the entire world, the Isthmus has been turned into a singularly healthy place of abode. Active excavation on a large scale did not begin until January, 1907. Three years and a half have gone by since then, and three-fifths of the total excavation has already been accomplished. In 1908 and 1909 the monthly average of rock and earth removed was three million cubic yards, notwithstanding the fact that nine months of each year constituted a season of very heavy rainfall; but it is impossible to maintain such a ratio as the depth increases. Still, it is certain that such a rate can be maintained as will enable the workers to finish the excavation considerably in advance of the date fixed for opening the Canal—January 1, 1915. Indeed, I shall be surprised if the Canal cannot be opened six months or even a year in advance of the time set. The work has two great features: The Culebra Cut, which I have been considering, and the great dam at Gatun. The construction of the dam has advanced sufficiently to convince the engineers in charge of the work of its absolute stability and imperviousness. The engineer in charge has announced that all the concrete in all the locks will be in place two years hence.

This is a stupendous record of achievement. As a people we are rather fond of criticising ourselves, and sometimes with very great justice; but even the most pessimistic critic should sometimes think of what is to our credit. Among our assets of the past ten years will be placed the extraordinary ability, integrity, and success with which we have handled all the problems inherited as the result of the Spanish War; the way we have handled ourselves in the Philippines, in Cuba, in Porto Rico, in San Domingo, and in Panama. The cruise of the battle fleet around the world was a striking proof that we had made good with the navy; and what we have done at Panama represents the accomplishment of one of the great feats of the ages. It is a feat which reflects the highest honor upon our country; and our gratitude is due to every man who has taken an honorable part in any capacity in bringing it about.

The same qualities that have enabled Americans to conquer the wilderness, and to attempt tasks like the building of the Panama Canal and the sending of the battle fleet around the world, need to be applied now to our future problems; and these qualities, which include the power of self-government, together with the power of joining with others for mutual help, and, what is especially important, the feeling of comradeship, need to be applied in particular to that foremost of National problems, the problem of the preservation of our National resources.

The question has two sides. In the first place, the actual destruction, or, if this is not possible, at any rate the needless waste, of the natural resources must be stopped. In the second place, so far as possible, these resources must be kept for the use of the whole people, and not handed over for exploitation to single individuals or groups of individuals.

The first point I shall not here discuss at length. It is rapidly becoming a well-settled policy of this people that we of the present generation hold the land in part

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as trustees for the next generation, and not exclusively for our own selfish enjoyment. Just as the farmer is a good citizen if he leaves his farm improved and not impaired to his children, and a bad citizen if he cares nothing for his children and skins the land and destroys its value in his own selfish interest; so the Nation behaves well if it treats the soil and the water and the forests as assets which it must turn over to the next generation increased and not impaired in value, and behaves badly if it leaves the land poorer to those who come after us. No farm should be so used that the soil is permitted to depreciate in value; no forest so used as permanently to impair its productivity.

The second part of the question relates to preserving and using our natural resources in the interest of the public as a whole. We do not intend to discourage individual excellence by improperly diminishing the reward for that individual excellence; on the contrary, our desire is to see that the fullest reward is given to the men of exceptional abilities, up to the point when the abilities are used to the detriment of the people as a whole. We favor the sheep man who feeds his sheep on his own range in such manner that the range increases instead of diminishes in value; and we are against the big man who does not live in the country at all, but who sends migratory bands of sheep with a few hired shepherds to wander over it, destroying pasturage and forests, and seriously impairing the value of the country for actual settlers. We are for the liberty of the individual up to, but not beyond, the point where it becomes inconsistent with the welfare of the community as a whole.

Now, to preserve the general welfare, to see to it that the rights of the public are protected, and the liberty of the individual secured and encouraged as long as consistent with this welfare, and curbed when it becomes inconsistent therewith, it is necessary to invoke the aid of the Government. There are points in which this governmental aid can best be rendered by the States; that is, where the exercise of States' rights helps to secure popular rights, and as to these I believe in States' rights. But there are large classes of cases where only the authority of the National Government will secure the rights of the people, and where this is the case I am a convinced and a thoroughgoing believer in the rights of the National Government. Big business, for instance, is no longer an affair of any one State; big business has become nationalized; and the only effective way of controlling and directing it, and preventing abuses in connection with it, is by having the people nationalize this control in order to prevent their being exploited by the individuals who have nationalized the business. All commerce on a scale sufficiently large to warrant any control over it by Government is nowadays inter-State or foreign commerce; and until this fact is heartily acknowledged, in particular by both courts and legislative bodies, National and State alike, the interest of the people will suffer.

Take the question of the control of the water power sites. The enormous importance of water power sites to the future industrial development of this country has only been realized within a very few years. Unfortunately, the realization has come too late as regards many of the power sites, but many yet remain with which our hands are free to deal. We should make it our duty to see that hereafter the power sites are kept under the control of the general Government for the use of the people as a whole. The fee should remain with the people as a whole, while the use is leased on terms which will secure an ample reward to the lessees, which will encourage the development and use of the water power, but which will not create a permanent monopoly or permit the development to be anti-social, to be in any respect hostile to the public good.

In this country, nowadays, capital has a National and not a State use. The great corporations which are managed and largely owned in the older States are those which are most in evidence in developing and using the mines and water powers and forests of the new Territories and new States, from Alaska to Arizona. I have been genuinely amused during the past two months at having arguments presented to me on behalf of certain rich men from New York and Ohio, for instance, as to why Colorado and other Rocky Mountain States should manage their own water power sites. Now I am

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sure that those men, according to their lights, are good citizens; but, naturally enough, their special interest obscures their sense of the public need; and as their object is to escape efficient control, they clamor to be put under the State instead of under the Nation. If we are foolish enough to grant their requests, we shall have ourselves to blame when we wake up to find that we have permitted another privilege to intrench itself, and another portion of what should be kept for the public good to be turned over to individuals for purposes of private enrichment.

Our people have for many years proceeded upon the assumption that the Nation controls the public land. The coal should be kept for the people, and those who mine it should pay part of the profit back to the people.

Remember also that many of the men who protest loudly against effective National action would be the first to turn round and protest against the State action if such action in its turn became effective, and would then unhesitatingly invoke the law to show that the State had no Constitutional power to act. I am a strong believer in efficient National action; and if there is one thing which I abhor more than another, it is the creation by legislative, by executive, or by judicial action of a neutral ground in which neither the State nor the Nation has power, and which can serve as a place of refuge for the lawless man, and especially for the lawless man of great wealth, who can hire the best legal counsel to advise him how to keep his abiding-place equally distant from the uncertain frontier of both State and National power.

Let me illustrate what I mean by a reference to two concrete cases. The first is the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Knight Sugar Trust case. This was really a decision rendering it exceedingly difficult for the people to devise any method of controlling and regulating the business use of great capital in inter-State commerce. It was a decision nominally against National rights, but really against popular rights, against the democratic principle of government by the people.

The second case is the so-called New York Bake-Shop case. In New York City, as in most large cities, the baking business is likely to be carried on under unhygienic conditions, conditions which tell against the welfare of the workers, and therefore against the welfare of the general public. The New York Legislature passed, and the New York Governor signed, a bill remedying these improper conditions. New York State was the only body that could deal with them; the Nation had no power whatever in the matter. Acting on information which to them seemed ample and sufficient; acting in the interest of the public and in accordance with the demand of the public, the only governmental authority having affirmative power in the matter, the Governor and the Legislature of New York, took the action which they deemed necessary, after what inquiry and study were needed to satisfy them as to the conditions and as to the remedy. The Governor and the Legislature alone had the power to remedy the abuse. But the Supreme Court of the United States possessed, and unfortunately exercised, the negative power of not permitting the abuse to be remedied. By a five to four vote they declared the action of the State of New York unconstitutional. They were, of course, themselves powerless to make the remotest attempt to provide a remedy for the wrong which undoubtedly existed, and their refusal to permit action by the State did not confer any power upon the Nation to act. In effect, it reduced to impotence the only body which did have power, so that in this case the decision, although nominally against State rights, was really against popular rights, against the democratic principle of government by the people under the forms of law.

If such decisions as these two indicated the Court's permanent attitude, there would be real and grave cause of alarm; for such decisions, if consistently followed up, would upset our whole system of popular government. I am, however, convinced, both from the inconsistency of these decisions with the tenor of other decisions, and furthermore from the very fact that they are in such flagrant and direct contradiction to the spirit and needs of the time, that sooner or later they will be explicitly or implicitly reversed. I mention them merely to illustrate the need of

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having a truly National system of government under which the people can deal effectively with all problems, meeting those that affect the people as a whole by affirmative Federal action, and those that merely affect the people of one locality by affirmative State action.

In dealing with future problems like this one of Conservation, we need to keep in mind the lesson taught by the American pioneer. It is a lesson that is to be found in the fact that the pioneer is so good an American. He is an American, first and foremost. The man of the West throughout the successive stages of Western growth has always been one of the two or three most typical figures, indeed I am tempted to say the most typical figure, in American life; and no man can really understand our country, and appreciate what it really is and what it promises, unless he has the fullest and closest sympathy with the ideals and aspirations of the West.

The great lesson that all of us need to learn and to keep is the lesson that it is unimportant whether a man lives North or South, East or West, provided that he is genuinely and in good faith an American; that he feels every part of the United States as his own, and that he is honestly desirous to uphold the interests of all other Americans in whatever sections of the country they may dwell.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE PRESIDENT AND MR. ROOSEVELT ON CONSERVATION

We shall publish next week some account of the St. Paul Conservation Congress. We here attempt only a brief summary of the addresses given by its two most distinguished guests, President Taft and ex-President Roosevelt. In their spirit of patriotism, in their full commitment to a policy of conservation of National resources under National regulation and control, and in the great object to be attained by such policy of conservation these two statesmen are entirely agreed. The differences between them are partly of detail, partly of temperament. Mr. Taft's speech is more comprehensive, Mr. Roosevelt's more aggressive; Mr. Taft's more cautious, Mr. Roosevelt's more advanced; Mr. Taft's more encyclopædic, Mr. Roosevelt's more fragmentary, but also more suggestive; Mr. Taft states some questions now before the public which he leaves unanswered, while Mr. Roosevelt does not hesitate to give an answer to these questions.

Mr. Taft, in his introduction, gives full credit to Mr. Roosevelt for his service to the Nation in impressing on the public mind the fact that we are wasting our National resources and the crying need for a remedy. "As President of the United States," says Mr. Taft, "I have, as it were, inherited this policy, and I rejoice in my inheritance. I prize my high opportunity to do all an Executive can do to help a great people realize a great National ambition."

Mr. Taft considers Conservation under seven heads: agricultural lands, mineral lands, forest lands, coal lands, oil and gas lands, phosphate lands, and water power sites. He thinks there is no crying need for reform in the methods of disposing of what are really agricultural lands; the present laws have worked and are working well. He believes in reclamation by the Federal Government of arid and swamp lands which belong to the Federal Government, but is adverse to draining swamp lands, and we judge also to the irrigation of barren lands, by the Federal Government, if the lands belong to private persons or to the States. He would leave the mineral lands—that is, those containing metalliferous minerals—to be developed by private capital, as at present. It might, he thinks, have been well to lease such lands and impose royalties, but there is so little of them left that it is hardly worth while to assume the embarrassment of a radical change. He reports that we have, including Alaska forests, a total of about one hundred and forty-four million acres of forests belonging to the Government, which are being treated in accord with the principles of scientific forestry. This constitutes about one-fourth of the timber of the country, the rest belonging to private owners. He declares that the usual destructive waste continues in the forests privately

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owned, and urges the States to take necessary action against such destruction; but he thinks no further Federal legislation is needed at the present time, except an increase of fire protection to National forests and an act investing the Executive with full power to make forest reservations on Government lands. He believes that the Federal Government should retain its ownership of all coal lands, leasing to private capital the right to mine under Government regulation. Such leases of coal lands by the private owners to the operators is common in this country, and governmental experience in Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand proves it to be practicable as a governmental policy by a democratic community. Such leasing policy would give the Government not merely a share in the profits of the coal-mining, but power to exercise control over the methods pursued. Mr. Taft would pursue the same policy of leasing with the oil and gas lands and the phosphate lands which belong to the Nation. The question whether the control of the water power sites, and of the water, should be retained by the Federal Government, or transferred to the States, he discusses judicially, presenting the arguments *pro* and *con*, but declines to express any judgment. "I shall," he says, "submit the matter to the Congress, and urge that one or the other of the two plans be adopted."

It is needless to say that the general policy of Conservation urged by Mr. Taft is not less strongly urged by Mr. Roosevelt, for Mr. Taft himself says that the policy is one which he inherited from Mr. Roosevelt; but in his St. Paul speech Mr. Roosevelt makes some additional recommendations. He discusses the waterways, and urges that it is necessary for the people to provide adequate terminals in every city and town on every improved waterway, and to compel the railways to cooperate with the waterways under reasonable conditions, otherwise the railways will get control of the improved waterways and they will be of no benefit to the public. He believes that "where the States are unwilling or unable to undertake it, the drainage of swamp and overflow lands by the Federal Government is a wise and necessary measure." In this respect he differs from Mr. Taft. He also differs from Mr. Taft in emphatically urging that the water powers should be retained by the Federal Government, and kept under Federal control and regulation, no less than the coal lands and the National forests, for the reason that there are predatory corporations which are attempting to get control of the National wealth, and in protecting the interests of the people the Nation is stronger than any State and its jurisdiction more effective. For this reason he strongly opposes the proposal to turn these matters over to the States; a demand which he regards as against the interests of the plain people and primarily in the interests of a certain class of capitalists. This illustrates what is perhaps the most important difference in spirit between Mr. Taft's and Mr. Roosevelt's addresses. Mr. Taft assumes that every measure proposed is proposed in good faith to achieve a purpose held in common by all the people; Mr. Roosevelt believes that there are special interests whose representatives are straining every nerve to get possession of the National wealth, and he warns the Conservation Congress "against the men who come to Congresses such as this ostensibly as disinterested citizens, but actually as paid agents of the special interests." Our wishes would lead us to agree with Mr. Taft, our judgment compels us to agree with Mr. Roosevelt.

The somewhat fragmentary character of Mr. Roosevelt's St. Paul address leads to the not unnatural surmise that he deliberately turned the theme over to the President, in order to give to him the most important place in the discussion of the problem. Certain it is that to understand Mr. Roosevelt's position on Conservation his St. Paul address must be supplemented with his address some days before at Denver, where he discussed Conservation more comprehensively. He there defined the principles of Conservation as three in number: First, the needless waste of National resources must be stopped; the Nation must not leave its land impoverished for future generations. Second, the National resources must be developed promptly and efficiently; Conservation must not deprive the men of to-day of their natural rights in the National wealth.

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Third, the National resources must remain in the ownership and under the control of the Nation, which, in the exercise of that control, must secure exceptional reward for those men of exceptional ability who, under Government regulation, develop such National resources. All the people of the United States agree with the first two propositions, at least in theory; they are divided on the third. Upon that proposition Mr. Taft and Mr. Roosevelt are agreed respecting coal and forest lands, while Mr. Taft is doubtful, and Mr. Roosevelt is not, respecting water power sites.

But it is very uncertain what view on this question of Federal ownership and control of the National property is held by the old-time leaders of the Republican party, who to a large extent have controlled the party action in the past, and are now vigorously fighting to keep that control for the future. In our judgment, there is no question so important to come before the next Congress, and none, therefore, so important to come before the people at this fall election, as the following:

Shall the National resources, including coal and other mineral deposits, forests, grazing lands, water power sites, and swamp and arid lands, be given to capitalists for private development; or turned over to the States for State regulation; or retained in the possession and under the control of the Federal Government, to be developed under such regulation as the Federal Government may provide?

It is, we believe, not because Mr. Roosevelt has any political personal ambitions for the future, but because he is eager to have the country adopt the third of these opinions and incorporate in its legislation the third of these policies, that he is engaged in so strenuous a campaign. It is, we believe, only as the Republican party commits itself, vigorously and beyond recall, to the policy of Federal ownership and control of the National property, that it can hope to carry the next election; and we recommend those of our readers who agree with us that this New Federalism is necessary to the future welfare of the Nation to vote for no Congressman who has not, by official act, public speech, or personal pledge, committed himself explicitly to its support.

LIFE DRIVING OUT DEATH

Christ lived in a destructive age, and became himself a victim to its habit of destroying that which it did not understand. The leper, having ceased to be of use and become a possible danger, was put out of the gate and might starve at leisure; the man whose brain was disordered was left to wander among the tombs and become a hopeless madman; the woman overtaken in her sin was stoned; the man who doubted was anathematized; the alien was an enemy to be crushed; the nation was a family to be guarded by fear and hatred of other families; religion was a special privilege not to be shared with others less favored; God was the friend and protector of his chosen people, the scourge and slayer of other peoples. The instinct and habit were, not to convert the unbeliever, but to make an end of him; not to teach others faith in the true God, but to invoke the vengeance of that God upon them. Jonah was bitterly disappointed when the people of Nineveh repented; he wanted to see a fiery rain fall on them.

And this habit of destruction, after the brief, delusive, autumnal peace which the Roman Empire compassed by universal conquest, continued through the Middle Ages. The thought of death was always present in the mediæval man's mind; it waylaid him whenever he set foot beyond the walls of his city; it waited for him at the corner of his narrow street; in many Italian cities there was a perpetual seesaw of parties, and when one went down its leaders were banished, their palaces sacked, their adherents killed by the score. The image of death was everywhere; the wounded and dying Christ was seen a hundred times oftener than the figure of the risen and glorified Christ. The skeleton was a hideous but familiar companion of every man's daily life. The Middle Ages thought in terms of death, not in terms of life. If a man thought differently from his age, he was sent to the rack; if he did not recant, he was burned in the square and his ashes scattered to the four winds of heaven: let the enemies of God be annihilated, and let the Kingdom of love and peace be es-

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tablished by the thumbscrew, the boot, the rack! If a new truth appeared, the attempt was made to crush it by sheer brute force; if a fresh torch began to throw light in the darkness, it was extinguished with an iron hand!

One of the most profound changes between the ages which thought in terms of death and this age which thinks in terms of life is the modern hatred of waste. Death was a frightful waster; life is a tireless conserver. We cannot and will not endure the waste which our ancestors accepted as a matter of course; the salvation of the few, the destruction of the many, is not only hateful, it is incredible. Its doom was sounded in the hour when men began to see God as Christ saw him. An angry God, hating sinners and pursuing them with relentless fury, has gone the way of the other nightmares which haunted our forefathers. A just and righteous God, hating iniquity and punishing it with unfailing impartiality, but following the offender with tireless mercy of forgiveness and opportunity, has revealed himself in these later times and set the thought of life in place of the thought of death.

The instinct of modern men is not to destroy but to save. If a child is born with a defective brain, it relieves him by surgery, if possible; if not, it places him in the hands of teachers who help him to make the best use of his limited faculties. If he is born blind, it does not treat him as if he were a helpless member of society; it teaches him to see with his other senses. If he is born deaf, it educates him to hear with his fingers; if he is born deaf and blind, it works in him the miracle of the spirit victorious over the maimed body. He shall not only care for himself, but he may become an artist, a teacher, an athlete, an inspirer of his kind. If a boy commits an offense against the law, it does not lock him in with hardened criminals to become as they are; it puts him in charge of men who will direct his energy into wholesome channels, evoke his self-respect by recognizing it, awaken his interest by teaching him how to work skillfully. If a slum breeds moral and spiritual disease, it does not anathematize those who live in it; it cleans out the slum, lets in the light, pours in the water, opens the settlement and the school, sends the warm-hearted Christian woman there. If there is unrest in a class, it does not begin by passing penal statutes; it begins by investigating conditions. If men and women forsake the churches in great numbers, it does not hurl the thunders of God's wrath at them; it finds out whether the churches are pure, loving, helpful, patient, and tender, as was their Master. If there is a scourge of infectious disease, it does not, save in ignorant localities, become savage with fear, and add human brutality to mortal suffering; it studies prevention, secures good conditions; it fights, not with medicines alone or chiefly, but with reinforced vitality.

In business it is largely the by-product, which was once thrown away, from which the profit comes; in the care of the National domain the great lines of policy are expressed in two words: Conservation and Reclamation. In theology the master word is not destruction, but redemption; not the condemnation of those who fall into sin, but the mighty love of Christ, who cleansed the Magdalen and gave the Pharisee a heart to serve his kind instead of contemplating his own orthodoxy.

In every field of thought and knowledge, in every department of individual, social, and national endeavor, in all attempts to deal with moral and physical disease, the sovereign word to-day is—save. Life is everywhere invoked to destroy death; love is more and more invoked to drive out hate; the best is set to subdue the worst; the angel in man is more and more placed in power above the animal in him; the love of God more and more drives out the fear of the devil; the whole process of life becomes more and more a process of growth and redemption. Life is driving out death.

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MR. ROOSEVELT IN THE WEST

STAFF CORRESPONDENCE OF THE OUTLOOK

ABOVE the roar of the train and the hiss and grinding of the air-brakes sounds the dissonant chord of multitudinous cheers. As the train slows down we can see the swirling mass of people crowd perilously near the wheels and close in upon the rear car. Suddenly the cheers burst into a din, and the expectant faces become radiant. Then in an instant there is silence. The faces of men and women and open-eyed children are all intent. The stillness is broken for a second or two by a running ripple of laughter and then resumed. Almost imperceptibly the train begins to move. The dissonant chord of cheers is struck anew.

So again and again, at station after station, in State after State, Americans have been greeting Theodore Roosevelt. At almost every place men and women bring their children and hold them up to see him. Rugged men with bronzed faces, failing to grasp his hand, content themselves with reaching out and touching him. As the train rolls along, men in blue overalls and jumpers wave their hands to him from the doors of freight cars and the cabs of locomotives. The switchman who has turned and locked his switch looks up, and, as he grows smaller in the converging lines of railway tracks, waves his signal flag in friendly greeting. Here and there at little lonely houses near the railway on the prairie a man, a woman, a family group stands in the doorway and watches our train. How these people, far away from telegraph or telephone, know that this is the train that bears Mr. Roosevelt I cannot imagine; but they do know it, for they greet it as people do not greet the trains that regularly pass their doors. Even in the downpour of rain the people assemble at the stations, and peer between and from beneath dripping umbrellas to get a glimpse of this friend of theirs. And after the last "Good-night and good luck" has been exchanged, and the door at the rear has been closed on the last cheering group, and we are trying to find rest for the activities of the coming day, we can tell that the train is speeding past a station by the cheers that come through the rain and the dark outside. Those unseen groups knew that they could have no sight of Mr. Roosevelt; they could not be sure that he would even hear their cheers. Their gathering was the only way they could show their honor and affection, and so they did this.

At almost every station there is handed up over the car railing or thrown upon the platform some gift. Here it is a bunch of flowers, there a bag of melons grown on "dry farming" lands; here a piece of jerked venison killed and cured by the giver; there a photograph of a happy American family. This bringing of gifts symbolizes the sense of personal, individual relationship between the giver and the recipient. And this feeling has been manifest in the crowds that have followed Mr. Roosevelt wherever he has gone. Those who never saw him before welcome him as if he were an old acquaintance and as if he had had a share in the important experiences of their lives.

So it has been from the Eastern farm lands, across the level country below the Great Lakes, through the short-grass country, along the edge of the Rocky Mountains, and back on the prairies.

Such personal devotion is not like the eagerness to hear an eloquent orator. Mr. Roosevelt's speeches are not of the sort which entertain crowds with either the glitter or the splendor of rhetoric. It is true that his audiences listen with an attention that the rhetorical elocutionist does not secure; but they are not the sort of audiences that throng to hear an orator for the sake of the oratory. This devotion is not like the admiration for a National hero. It is true that the crowds that line the streets through which he passes hail him with shouts; but they are not the sort of crowds that throng to celebrate and then forget some special exploit. This devotion is not like the feudalistic following of a political liege. It is true that everywhere men in active political life have shown their desire to get his advice and secure his certification of their course; but the people as a whole have given no sign that they were uncertain in

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their own minds until he had spoken. This devotion has been rather that of a people who have come to believe that Mr. Roosevelt is their friend, whose counsel they want, their champion, their man. The evidence that proves this is that where the people have shown the most independence in their own thinking and in their own acts, there the welcome to Mr. Roosevelt has been the most unrestrained.

Two examples are worth citing: the railway men and the cowboys. On every line of railway over which our car has passed the men engaged in the vigorous and hazardous work of the railway have made it plain that between Mr. Roosevelt and themselves there is a very well established relationship of comrade. No body of men in this country can surpass these in those qualities that have kept American democracy enduring; and no body of men have shown their devotion to Mr. Roosevelt more frankly. They have made very clear their conviction that he is their sort. So with the cowboys. No one can look on these men, whose frontier spirit is persisting after the virtual disappearance of the frontier, and note the ease of their power, without realizing that they would as quickly resent political dictation as they would fight against military attack.

The demonstration that has followed Mr. Roosevelt throughout his trip so far has been, however, something more than an acknowledgment of a relationship established by his public service in the past. Based on that as it has been, it is also, and even more obviously, an expression of the feeling that he is a popular champion in a present struggle. Outwardly prosperous and profoundly peaceful, the people of the communities through which we have passed have shown the spirit of a people about to enter upon political war. A sense of impending conflict, a seriousness of demeanor, an attitude of suppressed emotion, a readiness to respond to the presentation of fundamental public issues, have been characteristic of all the audiences from the Hudson River to the Rocky Mountains. Somehow they have given the impression that they know there is a fight on. They are not in a spirit to accept compromise. There are dangers in this situation. That is very clear. These people are not in a mood to stop and argue about the character or record of their leaders so long as they are convinced that those leaders are genuine and are on the right side. In fact, they seem to be a people who have already entered into skirmishes without knowing what the general plan of the war is, or whether there is such a plan. All that they have been sure of is that they have foes that they want to fight and that those foes are within striking distance. Each community is busily engaged in thinking about the skirmishes in its own neighborhood, and so absorbed in the local aspects of those skirmishes that it is not aware that other skirmishes of a different character have been carried on in other places. Everywhere, however, these people have recognized that in Mr. Roosevelt they have a civic leader who is on their side; and with the recognition of that fact has come the recognition of the fact that all these various skirmishes are parts of a common war. The people are beginning to see that in New York, Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, Wyoming, Colorado, Kansas, the political conflict lies between what is vaguely known as the public interest and what is equally vaguely called private interests. On the one side they see majorities, but on the other they see money and influence and traditions and sometimes organization and law.

In New York they see against them two powerful political machines. In the upper part of the State it is, however, the Republican machine that holds sway and by virtue of its power there controls the Legislature of the State. When Mr. Roosevelt was at Utica, he was in the very midst of the battlefield. There is the home of Vice-President Sherman, who has openly sided with the machine. Against him the leader in that region on behalf of the public interest has been Mr. Davenport, State Senator from that district. The gathering which Mr. Roosevelt went to address was not political. The granges of two counties had a meeting there, and Mr. Roosevelt spoke to them on fundamental problems of country life. Any reference to politics would have been resented as out of place; but when Mr. Roosevelt referred with praise to Senator Davenport, this assemblage of farmers

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and farmers' families became tumultuous in its applause. These men and women recognized the fact that in doing this Mr. Roosevelt was taking up their side of an issue that was deeper than party. There was no doubt where those people stood. They were insurgent against noxious and autocratic party bosses who had been using the power of party organization, not to further the welfare of the whole people, but to protect and promote private interests. They have wanted a chance to reach those bosses with their votes; but the law does not provide any way by which they can do so. Senator Davenport has been conspicuous in working for the enactment of a measure that will give them the chance to put their grip on the bosses. At present their only recourse is to vote out one machine by putting another in its place. Mr. Roosevelt, in his few words, made it clear that he was with them in their fight to make every political machine subject to the popular will.

When Mr. Roosevelt reached Ohio, he entered another battle-ground. There the fight between special interests and the public interest has had several phases. The immediate fight, however, was at that time precipitated by a strike. In Columbus, as the readers of The Outlook know, the street car men had left work in protest against what they asserted was oppression and faithlessness on the part of the company; and in consequence violence had broken out. The authorities of the State and the city were between two special interests. If they interfered with the mob, they would be charged with being under the control of the corporation interest; if they did not, they would be charged with standing in fear of the labor interest. In no uncertain language Mr. Roosevelt declared for government in behalf of the public interest. He declared that it was the business of the State and the city first to restore order and then to hunt out corruption and oppression; and there, as in New York, the people recognized him as being on their side.

When Mr. Roosevelt reached Denver, again he came upon a battle-ground. There the struggle has been twofold. Colorado is in the midst of a country that is rich in natural resources. Some of those resources have fallen into the hands of private interests, some still in public possession are coveted by private interests. There, in the great Auditorium which was built and has been used for National party conventions, he spoke before some fifteen thousand people on the principles of Conservation. Again it was the cause of the public that he advocated. In terms which no one could misunderstand, he reiterated his well-known principles that the property of the people should be so held and administered by the Government that it would serve the interest of all, rather than a part, of the people, and be handed on to posterity not only unimpaired but enhanced in value. And that great audience, recognizing their champion, cheered and cheered.

No sooner had he finished this speech than he was conveyed to the State Capitol, there to address the Legislature of Colorado. Here he was on the field of another conflict. Without once touching upon the specific local issue on account of which the Legislature had been in extraordinary session, he urged two general principles. The first was that the States and the Federal Government should cooperate to see that there was no neutral ground in which special interests might revel without efficient public control; the other, that the public should be on guard against the three great enemies of popular rule, corruption, violence, and mendacious slander. There was absolutely nothing in his speech which in the abstract any one could rationally deny; but its significance was recognized in its application to the conflict in which the country, and specifically that State, is engaged. In Colorado, as elsewhere, there are men who advocate States' rights because they have seen the inability or unwillingness of the States to exercise those rights on behalf of the public interest. In Colorado, as elsewhere, there are men who are equally indifferent to corruption, to violence, and to mendacious slander provided the private interests in which they are concerned are not controlled. It was evident that Mr. Roosevelt's shafts went home. It is certain that this speech of "platitudes" will not be soon forgotten.

Again, in the evening, Mr. Roosevelt

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made another speech. This time he addressed the Colorado Livestock Association. This organization of cattlemen has been one of the stanchest upholders of Mr. Roosevelt's Conservation policies. It has been in the fight on behalf of them. Its members have seen what those policies have done in placing human welfare above mere property interest. Gathered there, at a "round-up" dinner, they welcomed him with cheers and with the rhythmic clash of tin plates and cups. It was the first instance on the trip of men who represent a special interest applauding the policy of making the public interest supreme.

At last, at Osawatomie, he reached a place which by his speech he made again a National battlefield. In this small Kansas town, renowned as the place which, by virtue of John Brown's deed, became to the Civil War what Concord and Lexington was to the War for Independence, he was met by a crowd of twenty-five thousand people. Kansas, often unwise, often misled, but always brave, vigorous, progressive, and free, has been in the thick of many a fight; and now it is in the thick of another. That movement within the Republican party known as the Insurgent movement, directed against the power of special privilege as represented in the Senate, and against parliamentary oligarchy as exhibited in the House of Representatives, has found encouragement nowhere more emphatic than in Kansas. As a movement of resistance against unjust power it is well named; but its significance is deeper. It can trace its origin to the spirit fostered by Mr. Roosevelt as President, and so far as it has remained sound and healthful it has set forth the policies which had their National promulgation first from Mr. Roosevelt as President. In origin, therefore, it is not Insurgent; it is named more accurately when it is called Progressive. It was not inappropriate, therefore, that at Osawatomie Mr. Roosevelt should gather up what he had already said as to the various issues before the country, and, from a National point of view, make a comprehensive statement of the articles of his political creed.

What that creed is I shall not here attempt to report. The readers of The Outlook can ascertain that, much better than from any account that I could give, by reading Mr. Roosevelt's editorials which present the substance of his speeches, and his article of last week on "The Progressives, Past and Present." It is sufficient here to say that every article of this creed was based on the general principle that public interest is paramount to any private interest or all private interests combined, that although the rights of property require protection, whenever they come in conflict with human rights they must be subordinated, and that it is not sufficient to play the game fairly according to the rules, but that whenever the rules are shown to be unfair they should be changed.

With regard to this great address at Osawatomie, three facts should be noted. First, in setting forth the policies of what he called the "New Nationalism," he emphasized not merely the need of making a platform but also the obligation of putting it into practice. "No man," he said, "should make a promise before election that he does not intend to keep after election; and if he does not keep it, hunt him out." Second, in placing before his hearers a progressive programme, he warned them at the same time not to follow leaders "whose eyes are a little too wild." Third, unlike many another progressive leader, he did not allow his hearers to forget that with the reform and amelioration of social and industrial affairs within the country there must go an equally strong, progressive, and brave management of all that pertains to the relation between nations.

Mr. Roosevelt is a private citizen. He holds no office in the government of the Nation or the State, or even in his party. His utterances have not once been couched in partisan terms. Nothing that he has said would place him in the category of any party or political group. Yet it is clear that the people have put him in a place of leadership in National politics. It is because by these speeches he has unified the struggles which have seemed to be separate and even isolated that this journey from the Atlantic Coast to the Rocky Mountains and back again is significant.

ERNEST HAMLIN ABBOTT.

Kansas City, Missouri, September 1, 1910.

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WILLIAM JAMES

BY H. ADDINGTON BRUCE

MANY qualities combined to make the late William James at once the most interesting and the most influential of present-day American philosophers—the philosopher above all others to whose views foreign as well as American scholars gave an attentive, if not always sympathetic, hearing, and who appealed to the popular consciousness with a power seldom equaled by leaders of philosophic thought in this or any other country. No other philosopher of his generation was so entirely and so consistently free from dogmatism and prejudice; no other sought so earnestly to make philosophy real and vital, not merely to philosophers, but also to the ordinary, every-day man—to remove it from the realm of the abstract into the domain of concrete, actual experience; no other recognized so fully and frankly the necessity of taking into account the influence of the personal equation and establishing practical, working standards in dealing with the great problems of existence.

In the end, as those who have followed his intellectual progress are well aware, Professor James arrived at a philosophic method and a philosophic outlook that have been variously applauded and condemned as being purely utilitarian. Undoubtedly he was a utilitarian; but his utilitarianism was of the noble sort voiced in the old Biblical question, "What shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" When he formulated the pragmatic doctrine that the test of the truth of any idea was its workability, its usefulness, its practical consequences, he had distinctly in mind ultimate rather than immediate consequences. The spiritual bulked as largely in his teachings as it did in his life. The question he always put to himself was not simply, "Is such and such an idea useful to you and to me in a material way?" He invariably added: "Is it useful to you and to me intellectually and morally? Does it contribute to the integrity and prosperity of the whole me and the whole you?"

In this way, scientist though he was, he was led to champion the cause of religion with the fervor of a theologian. His remarkable book "The Varieties of Religious Experience" will take rank hereafter as a landmark in the history of human thought. It is essentially a pragmatic analysis of religion, a scrutiny of religious experience from the utilitarian point of view. And, thus regarded, Professor James found that religion emphatically vindicated itself as a great contributing force to the well-being of man. "Our abandonment of theological criteria," he declared, "and our testing of religion by practical common sense and the empirical method, leave it in possession of its towering place in history. Economically, the saintly group of qualities is indispensable to the world's welfare. The great saints are immediate successes; the smaller ones are at least heralds and harbingers, and they may be leavens also, of a better mundane order. Let us be saints, then, if we can, whether or not we succeed visibly and temporarily." For the same reason Professor James entertained a profound conviction that religion would persist, would survive all attacks made upon it. Since, in the words of one of his most eminent commentators, Professor Émile Boutroux, "religion forms part of man's normal life; and since, besides, it contributes to the preservation, to the integrity, and to the prosperity of that life, even reason combines with instinct and tradition in favoring its continuance."

Here, as always, Professor James sounded a strongly individualistic, personal note. The "me" and the "you," the effects on the "me" and the "you," were what chiefly concerned him. He ever thought—and this is no small part of the secret of the tremendous influence he exercised—in terms of personality. The experiences, the hopes and aspirations, the destiny of man, were to him of supreme importance. The animating motive of his whole career was an intense desire to be of service to man—not, be it noted, to man in the abstract, but to

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the thinking, feeling, and acting human beings by whom he was surrounded. It was because of this passionate longing to render service that he strove to correlate philosophy with life, to bring it within the reach and the understanding of all, to give it meaning and make it helpful to all. It was because of this, and because of the splendid largeness and liberality of his nature, that he disregarded no fact in human experience, and even ventured into fields of investigation from which the great majority of scientists held rigidly aloof.

I refer principally, of course, to his work in psychical research. It is a great mistake to assume, as so many do, that William James became a psychical researcher simply because he had temperamental leanings towards the occult and the mystical, and that psychical research was nothing more than a hobby with him, a pleasant diversion from his more exacting labors as a philosopher and a psychologist. In reality he went into it most seriously, and from a keen sense of duty. Somebody once asked him what he expected to gain from his investigations into the phenomena of spiritism. "Balm for men's souls," was his instant reply. Like Frederic Myers, Henry Sidgwick, and their fellow-founders of the Society for Psychical Research, it was to him a thing incredible that phenomena alleged to have a direct bearing on the problem of chiefest importance to man—the problem of the survival of human personality after the death of the body—should not be made the subject of the most searching inquiry. In this belief he made psychical research one of his main activities from 1884 to the time of his death, although forced to admit, in a magazine article written about a year ago:

"For twenty-five years I have been in touch with the literature of psychical research, and have had acquaintance with numerous 'researchers.' I have also spent a good many hours (though far fewer than I ought to have spent) in witnessing (or trying to witness) phenomena. Yet I am theoretically no 'further' than I was at the beginning; and I confess that at times I have been tempted to believe that the Creator has eternally intended this department of nature to remain baffling, to prompt our curiosities and hopes and suspicions, all in equal measure, so that, although ghosts and clairvoyances, and raps and messages from spirits, are always seeming to exist and can never be fully explained away, they also can never be susceptible of full corroboration.

"The peculiarity of the case is just that there are so many sources of possible deception in most of the observations that the whole lot of them may be worthless, and yet that in comparatively few cases can aught more fatal than this vague general possibility of error be pleaded against the record. Science meanwhile needs something more than bare possibilities to build upon; so your genuinely scientific inquirer—I don't mean your ignoramus 'scientist'—has to remain unsatisfied. It is hard to believe, however, that the Creator has really put any big array of phenomena into the world merely to defy and mock our scientific tendencies; so my deeper belief is that we psychical researchers have been too precipitate with our hopes, and that we must expect to mark progress not by quarter-centuries but by half-centuries or whole centuries."

But if, so far as concerned the securing of scientifically acceptable proof of life beyond the grave, Professor James, after twenty-five years of patient investigation, had to confess himself baffled, his psychical researches were none the less productive of important results. For one thing, they enlarged his understanding of the nature of man to an extent that would have been impossible had he shared the intellectual timidity, the "superstition of incredulity," common among men of science when the so-called occult is in question. The marvelous extensions of human faculty observable in the phenomena of the spontaneous and the induced trance; the evidence of "subconscious" powers and processes, manifest in automatic speaking and writing, in dreams, in the psychophysiological effects of "suggestion," gave him a clearer insight into the make-up and possibilities of personality than would ever have been his had he refrained from investigation. It remained to interpret psychologically and apply philosophically

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the facts observed, and how well and instructively he has done this his writings testify, particularly "The Varieties of Religious Experience" and "The Principles of Psychology."

These works, I am convinced, would not have made the impression they did, on both the scientific and the popular consciousness, had it not been for the broadening of their author's views and the increase of his psychological knowledge rendered possible by his delvings in psychical research. Of course, with reference to their reception by the public, both the "Varieties" and the "Psychology," like everything else that William James wrote, were materially aided by the brilliancy and charm of the form in which they were presented. The "Psychology" in particular, as one critic has said, is so clear and sparkling that it may be read for the mere pleasure it affords. But Professor James's wonderful stylistic skill, which he carefully cultivated, was by no means intended by him as a mere device for attracting readers. It was rather an outgrowth of his fundamental purpose of making the teachings of psychology and philosophy universally available. To be available to the mass of mankind, as he fully appreciated, they must be comprehended by the mass of mankind; and to be comprehended they must be given with a minimum of technicality. Hence, on his part, a constant and conspicuously successful striving for simplicity, lucidity, straightforwardness.

Lucid, simple, and direct in his writings, the same characteristics marked his work as a teacher. The lectures he delivered to his students at Harvard—he was Assistant Professor of Philosophy from 1880 to 1885, Professor in the same department from 1885 to 1889, Professor of Psychology from 1889 to 1897, and Professor of Philosophy from 1897 to 1907, when, at the age of sixty-five, he retired from active academic work—were not lectures so much as conferences. His idea of education was not only to impart knowledge, but to draw out knowledge, to arouse and set in play dormant faculties. Under his genial, man-to-man treatment an occasional spark of brilliancy flashed from even the dullest who came into contact with him, while all men of originality, responding at once to his obvious faith in them and his ability to get at their latent powers, developed under his guidance as perhaps under no other instructor with whom they had to do. It was peculiarly William James's province—one might almost say his "gift"—to make others think for themselves, to stir up intellectual activity. Which is only another way of saying that he was a great teacher, one of the greatest teachers Harvard has known.

Withal, despite his world-wide renown—in the final years of his unchallenged preeminence as leader of American philosophic thought, fully as much as in the early years when he was gropingly formulating his doctrines and his methods—he was the most modest of men. There was in him not a whit of arrogance, of intolerance, of the pride of intellect. He treated all men alike, respecting them as human beings of the loftiest possibilities. For what he saw in them of error he felt only the profoundest pity—consoling himself with the reflection, however, that all must come right with them in the end. Than William James no more invincible optimist, no thinker with a more deeply rooted faith in the universe and in humanity, has ever lived. But, appreciating also the defects, the weaknesses, the needs of humanity, he labored, so far as in his power lay, to be of assistance to his fellow-men.

Sympathy, then, was another of his salient characteristics, a sympathy carried out so thoroughly in private life that one of his friends once described him as "a dispenser of spiritual alms." Add to this, as the preacher at his funeral feelingly observed, that he was a man of unblemished purity, honest, honorable, and brave, whose ways were without guile, and it is not difficult to appreciate the sorrow which his passing has brought to the vast circle of those who knew him as mentor and as friend. A rare spirit, in truth, was his, that has left the world far richer for its presence.

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THE SPIRIT OF DEMOCRACY

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

A SERIES OF ARTICLES IN WHICH THE AUTHOR CONSIDERS THE EFFECT OF DEMOCRACY IN THE FAMILY, IN EDUCATION, IN INDUSTRY, AND IN GOVERNMENT[1]

ELEVENTH PAPER

IN GOVERNMENT—WHO SHOULD GOVERN?

GOVERNMENT is power to enforce command; government is just when the commands enforced are in accord with the great eternal laws of right and wrong. The function of government in the enforcement of these laws is primarily the protection of the four fundamental rights of man—the rights of the person, the rights of the family, the rights of property, and the rights of reputation. Government may exercise other functions; but if it does not exercise this function, it is inefficient and incompetent. On whom is the duty of protecting the rights of persons and property laid? Upon whom does it devolve in a self-governing community?

Says Abraham Lincoln: "When the white man governs himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also another man, that is more than self-government; that is despotism." That is true in its immediate application to slavery; absolutely and unqualifiedly true. For one man to govern another man, to take charge of him, determine what are his interests and control his actions, is despotism. It may be a benevolent despotism; it may be a just despotism; but, whether benevolent and just or malevolent and unjust, it is despotism. When a criminal is put into State prison, where all his actions are determined for him by another, he is living under a despotism.

But Abraham Lincoln also said: "The legitimate object of government is to do for the people what needs to be done, but which they cannot by individual effort do at all, or do as well for themselves." When the people do collectively what needs to be done, but what they cannot by individual effort do at all, or do as well for themselves, that is not despotism: that is social self-government, although in that social self-government each individual exercises a certain amount of control over the actions of every other individual. The community by its collective action not only establishes a public school, but compels the parents to send their child to school; it not only digs a sewer, but it compels the individual householder to connect his house with the sewer and send the waste, which otherwise would be a nuisance to the community, through the sewer; it not only constructs a highway, but it determines the rate of speed at which the automobile may be driven along the highway. Social self-government necessarily involves the government of one individual by other individuals; that is, the compelling of one individual to do what he does not wish to do, or to abstain from what he does wish to do, because his will is oppugnant to the will of the community. Who have the right to take part in this social self-government, in its determining what the individual may do or may not do? The advocates of universal suffrage claim that every member of the community of adult age may take part in this social self-government. Starting with the assertion, as an axiom, that every man has a right to govern himself, they deduce the conclusion that every man has a right to take part in the government of others. The conclusion does not follow from the premise. On the contrary, I believe it may be laid down as a political axiom, on which all self-governments should be based, that—

No man has a right to take part in governing others who has not the intellectual and moral capacity to govern himself.

The close of the eighteenth century was an epoch of revolution. It was characterized by an uprising of an oppressed people against their oppressors. In France and in America, following the ex-

[1] These articles are based on and in part condensed from a series of lectures on "The Spirit of Democracy" delivered by the author on consecutive Sunday afternoons before the Brooklyn (New York) Institute in January and February, 1910.

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ample which had been set in the preceding century by the Puritans in England, the common people demanded their rights. The question of political philosophy was, What are the rights of the common people? The claim of despotism was that the common people had no political rights; they were children who were to submit without question to the authority of their parents. Louis XVIII, returning from his exile in England to Paris, thus defined, with curious *naïveté*, the Bourbon conception of the relation between king and people: "If my right to the throne were not altogether founded on that law [the divine right of kings, recognized by the ancient law of France], what claim should I have to it? What am I apart from that right? An infirm old man, a miserable outlaw, reduced to begging, far from his country, for shelter and food. That is what I was only a few days ago; but that old man, that outlaw, was the King of France. That title alone sufficed to make the whole nation, when at last it understood its real interests, recall me to the throne of my fathers. I have come back in answer to the call, but I have come back King of France." [1]

In such an epoch the emphasis, alike of leaders and of people, was laid upon rights. This view we have inherited from our fathers. We have formed the habit of looking at all the political duties as rights and privileges, as something to which we have a claim, something which will confer a benefit upon us. All men, we think, have an equal right to hold office, and when one man has held office four years, his neighbor says, it is now my turn. The ballot we think of as something by which we are to protect our own interests and promote our own welfare. We select a Representative, who must come from our political district, and who, in the House of Representatives, will seek such legislation as will promote our local welfare; we select Senators who will represent our State and promote the interests of our State in the National legislation.

The next step is easy and natural. Special interests send representatives to Congress. Appropriations for public buildings, or for river or harbor improvements, and special advantage for special industries in the protective tariff, are engineered by skillful politicians, each seeking, with perhaps personal disinterestedness, to promote the pecuniary advantage of his own clientele. Under the corrupting influence of this false conception the professional politician becomes scarcely less an advocate of a special interest in Congress than is the paid counsel before the courts.

But the evil effect of this point of view does not stop with the professional politician. The individual voter votes for his own interests: one man to secure a higher protection for his manufactured goods, another to get a contract from the Government, a third to get a job from the contractor, and a fourth to get a five-dollar bill from the political committee. The story is told —I believe it is authentic—that a Western cowboy arrested for murder wrote to Mr. Roosevelt for financial aid in securing competent defense, but subsequently returned the contribution, saying: "I do not need it; we have elected the district attorney!"

It is high time that we changed our point of view; high time that we realized that suffrage is not a natural right—is not a right at all. It is a sacred duty; a right only as every man has a right to do his duty. "Public office is a public trust." How that sentence rang through the land! It was better than a speech. Suffrage is a public office, and therefore a public trust, and no man is entitled to have that public trust committed to him unless he is at least able to govern himself. The Southern States have in this respect set an example which it would be well if it were possible for all the States to follow. Many of them have adopted in their Constitution a qualified suffrage. The qualifications are not the same in all the States, but there is not one of those States in which every man, black or white, has not a legal right to vote provided he can read and write the English language, owns three hundred dollars' worth of property, and has paid his taxes. A provision that no man should vote unless he has intelligence enough to read and write, thrift enough to have laid up three hundred dollars' worth of property, and patriotism enough to have paid his taxes, would not

[1] Gilbert Stenger, "The Return of Louis XVIII," p. 177.

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be a bad provision for any State in the Union to incorporate in its Constitution.

We talk about giving to the negroes, to the Filipinos, and to the Porto Ricans self-government. What President Wilson, of Princeton University, has said on this subject would be well worth printing on a card and sending to every voter:

> We cannot give them self-government. Self-government is not a thing that can be "given" to any people, because it is a form of character and not a form of constitution. No people can be "given" the self-control of maturity. Only a long apprenticeship of obedience can secure them the precious possession, a thing no more to be bought than given. They cannot be presented with the character of a community, but it may confidently be hoped that they will become a community under the wholesome and salutary influences of just laws and a sympathetic administration; that they will after a while understand and master themselves, if in the meantime they are understood and served in good conscience by those set over them in authority.[1]

Hitherto the duty of protecting the fundamental rights of persons and property in civilized communities has devolved upon the men. There is a small but very earnest minority of women who insist that women should share in this duty of protection. Are they right? Does this obligation rest upon them, or are they exempt from it? To answer that question let us consider briefly the problem of life. What are we on this earth for? Is there any interpretation of its enigma, any rational meaning to existence?

We are born; grow up in families, under the protection and guidance of father and mother. We are nursed, taught, trained for life's work. We grow to maturity; marry; children are given to us; we provide for them until they are old enough to provide for themselves; govern them until they are old enough to govern themselves; then they marry and children are given to them. We tarry a few years as grandparents, to enjoy the privilege of the children without the responsibility, and then pass off the stage. And so the process goes on, generation after generation; every generation growing a little in knowledge, wisdom, and virtue; but each member of every generation, if the parents are capable and efficient, growing from ignorance to knowledge, from folly to wisdom, from incapacity to ability, from innocence through struggle to virtue. What does it all mean?

What can it mean but this? that we are in one stage of an existence the future stages of which no one can foresee, any more than the acorn can foresee the oak, or the seed the flower, or the caterpillar the butterfly. What can it mean but this: that life is itself a preparation for life, a long schooling, and death a graduation?

And in this process woman is the creator of life. She is physiologically its creator. She is, in the order of nature, the custodian of the infant in all the earlier stages of its existence. She is the one who feeds and nurses and leads and trains and educates it. And while she is thus absorbed in the highest and divinest ministry, in serving the very end of life itself, the man is the bread-winner and protector. He goes out to wrest from nature food for the supply of the family. If enemies attack it from without, he arises to defend it from assault. If criminals by violence or by fraud endeavor to rob it of its sustenance, he is its natural guardian from the wrong-doer. His influence is not unneeded in the training of the children, but it is incidental and secondary; it must be incidental and secondary, because, if mother and child are to be fed, sheltered, and protected, he must be, during most of the hours of the day, away from home. There is a pathetic story in the Old Testament, a transcript from life, which illustrates this parental relationship. A boy is with his father and the reapers in the field. The hot sun overpowers him. He cries out, "My head, my head!" The father says to a servant, "Take him to his mother," and goes on with his work. And the child lies on his mother's lap until noon, and then dies. It is the instinctive message of father and mother the world over, and will be while the world stands. From the father, "Carry the child to his mother." From the mother, "Give me the child." By a law of nature written in the constitution of the family, written in her constitution and in his, written in their physical nature and in their mental and moral nature, she is the creator of life and the minister to life, and he is the bread-

[1] Woodrow Wilson, "Constitutional Government in the United States," p. 53.

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winner and protector while she fulfills her sacred task.

If she is wife and mother, this high, sacred, supreme creative duty demands and has all her thought, all her life. If she is not, still she finds in supplemental service opportunities for this ministry to life. She teaches in the school, she nurses in the hospital, she ministers in the charities of the community and of the church, she co-operates as domestic, as sister, as aunt, with the overworked and overburdened mother in carrying on the life of the household. Hers is the vital, the essential service. His is necessary that she may do hers. They cannot possibly exchange. In the nature of the case he never can do hers. Shall she take his in addition to her own, and become not only the life-giver, but also the breadwinner and the protector; not only the mother, the nurse, the teacher, but also the magistrate, the policeman, the tiller of the soil, the sailor of the ship, the worker in the town? Can she do both kinds of service and do them well?

I do not wish to speak in derogation of the advocates of woman suffrage. Among them are some noble, womanly women, driven or drawn into the movement by the faith that the suffrage in woman's hands would be an instrument of incalculable value in the work of life ministry. But not many of the mothers devoting their lives to husband and children at home, not many of the teachers absorbed in the fascinating task of making men and women out of boys and girls, not many of the women active in the philanthropic work of our Christian churches or in our public charities, are among those whose names are bruited in the newspapers as advocates of this revolution. How can they be? They have too much of more important work to do. How can the agitators be simultaneously caring for their own children or the uncared-for children of others? They are absorbed in the one task of getting the ballot as the one important and essential achievement for the redemption of society.

I am an advocate of woman's rights—her right to be exempt from the duty of protecting persons and property; to be exempt from sharing in the burdens and responsibilities of government; her right to give herself wholly and unreservedly to the task which God has given her of being the creator and developer of human life, the maker of character. It would be the grossest injustice for us men, who have hitherto had this duty to perform, to shirk our duty and impose it upon woman, except upon the most conclusive demonstration that she desires to assume it. At present all the evidence points us to the conclusion that she has no such desire. This is indeed an uncontested point, admitted by the more intelligent and fair-minded of the advocates of the great revolution. And I urge all women whom my voice can reach or my words can influence not to follow the blind leaders of the blind, not to be cheated by a false political philosophy and a false social sentiment, not to turn aside from their great vocation, the ministry to life, which no one can take up if they lay it down, in order that they may take up the lower and lesser vocation. To protect life and property is not so great a service as to use property in ministering to life. To promote by political action the general welfare is not so great a service as to create and develop the individual for whose creation and development governments exist, and whose personal character is the supremest factor in the general well-being.

How shall a self-governing community ascertain the judgment and the will of the members of the community? In a pure democracy the people pass on every proposition, as in the old-time New England town meeting or in the present democratic government in Switzerland. In representative government the people elect representatives into whose hands they intrust the work of the government. They select the men, but the work of carrying on the government is intrusted to the men whom they select. There is a movement in our day in America toward more pure democracy, toward less representative government. Theoretically, we elect our Presidents by an electoral college; that is, by representative government. In fact, we elect them by a popular vote. Theoretically, the election of our Senators is left to the representative bodies in the various States; but in an increasing number of those States the election is generally effected by the people directly.

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On the other hand, our tendency in other than political circles is toward representative government rather than pure democracy. In our great corporations the stockholders do not vote on such questions as what stock they will issue, what branch roads they will build, what rates they will charge. The stockholders elect certain trusted men, and leave the decisions of these questions in their hands. As in the great commercial enterprises, so in the great philanthropic and religious organizations. The churches do not pass in detail upon the questions that come before the church. They elect a board, and the board elects an executive committee and secretaries, and the administration in detail is left in the hands of these executive committees and of the secretaries. I need not undertake to discuss in this connection the relative advantages of pure democracy and representative government. It is enough to point out to my readers that if representative government is really representative, if the persons elected do really represent the judgment and the will of the electors, a representative government is as truly democratic as a pure democracy.

Representative government has been injured in our country by the false notion that if we elect a great many officials we are more democratic than if we elect a few, whereas, in fact, we are more democratic if we elect a few than if we elect many. In New York State we elect a Governor and five heads of departments: a Secretary of State, a Comptroller, an Attorney-General, a State Engineer, a Treasurer. How many New York readers of this article could tell the names of these officials for whom many of those readers voted in the last election? Nay, more than that—how many think themselves competent to elect an Attorney-General or a State Engineer? I confess frankly that I am not. I can form some judgment as to the man whom I am willing should act for me in choosing an Attorney-General familiar with the law, or a State Engineer competent to supervise the engineering work of the State, but I have neither the personal knowledge nor the professional knowledge which fits me to make the selection myself.

In the Federal Government we pursue a wiser and really a more democratic course. We elect a President and a Vice-President, and the President appoints his heads of departments. He can, therefore, rightly be held responsible for all that is done, or left undone, in the various departments. Under the present method in our Federal elections we select one man and hold him responsible for results; in many of our States, in New York State, for example, we cast our vote between two sets of candidates selected for us by leaders whom we often do not know and whom we cannot hold responsible if the selection does not prove satisfactory.

Government is by parties, and in a self-governing community the parties ought to be self-governing. To-day they are not self-governing in fact, whatever they may be in theory. The forms and methods differ in different communities, but the following description may serve by way of illustration:[1] The members of the party in a given district meet in some appointed place in what is known as a primary. In fact, the meeting is composed almost exclusively of place-hunters and their friends. To this meeting a list of delegates to a nominating convention, or a series of nominating conventions, is presented by a committee which is practically self-constituted, although it has been formally elected by a previous primary. The character of these primaries as conducted in the "good old times"—that is, a quarter of a century ago—is indicated by the fact, reported by Mr. Bryce, that "of the 1,007 primaries and conventions of all parties held in New York City preparatory to the election of 1884, 633 took place in liquor saloons."

There has been some improvement since then, and in many of the States the primaries are now recognized and regulated by law. But the personnel remains largely what it was formerly. If independent voters attend, they are generally outvoted, or, if that by any chance proves impossible, they are out-

[1] I follow James Bryce, "The American Commonwealth," Chaps. LIX, LX, LXI, and LXII. Some material improvements have been made, and in some of the States radical and revolutionary changes, since this work was written (1888), but these chapters still remain an excellent description of the primary method of nomination as devised and operated by the professional politician.

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maneuvered, and the prepared list of delegates put forward by the committee is elected either without opposition or despite an opposition which is futile. These delegates attend the nominating conventions—town, county, and State—and nominate the candidates previously designated by the committee, and usually previously designated to the committee by the boss. So well is this understood that newspaper men, when the Convention meets, rarely interview the delegates, except such as are known to be near the boss and likely to be acquainted with his orders. Occasionally public sentiment in a State runs so strongly for a particular man that the boss yields, or the convention overrules the boss. But this rarely happens, and it never happens except in the case of some important office like that of Governor or United States Senator. When the election takes place, the two sets of candidates nominated in this fashion, nominally by a convention, really by a small and irresponsible committee, or a still smaller and more irresponsible boss, are put before the voter, and his sole function in politics is to select between the two. How far this method of nominating a host of candidates for all the offices, and nominating them by an irresponsible oligarchy, is from self-government the following paragraph from Mr. Bryce's "American Commonwealth" makes very clear:

> The elective offices are so numerous that ordinary citizens cannot watch them, and cease to care who gets them. The conventions come so often that busy men cannot serve in them. The minor offices are so unattractive that able men do not stand for them. The primary lists are so contrived that only a fraction of the party get on them; and of this fraction many are too lazy or too busy or too careless to attend. The mass of the voters are ignorant; knowing nothing about the personal merits of the candidates, they are ready to follow their leaders like sheep. Even the better class, however they may grumble, are swayed by the inveterate habit of party loyalty and prefer a bad candidate of their own to a (probably no better) candidate of the other party. It is less trouble to put up with impure officials, costly city government, a jobbing State legislature, an inferior sort of Congressman, than to sacrifice one's own business in the effort to set things right. Thus the Machine works on, and grinds out places, power, and the opportunities for illicit gain for those who manage it.

The remedy for this condition is very plain: it is such a reconstruction of party machinery that the voters will be enabled not merely to choose between candidates placed before them, but also to determine who those candidates shall be. Various plans have been proposed, and some plans are now on trial having for their desired object the accomplishment of this result. It does not come within the scope of this article to discuss the merits of these different plans. Such comparative study as I have been able to give to them leads me to regard as the best method yet devised the one urged by Governor Hughes on the Legislature of New York State. That plan would appear, more successfully than any other of those proposed, to secure party organization and efficiency and at the same time to put them under democratic control. Two things are, however, to me very clear: on the one hand, that any efficient plan of transferring political power from the oligarchy to the people will be fought by resourceful and unscrupulous politicians; and, on the other hand, that the increasing insistence of an awakened people on their rights and duties will eventually perfect the machinery of a self-governing Republic by making the parties self-governing.

Our free institutions are threatened by two foes: plutocracy and mobocracy, lawless wealth and lawless passion. These are the two serpents that have always come up out of the sea to strangle liberty. They destroyed Greece; they destroyed Rome; will they destroy America? America as a self-governing community is as yet only in its experimental stage. We can hand it down to our posterity, purified and strengthened, only by being true to the oath which Abraham Lincoln, in one of his early public addresses, proposed to the young men of Springfield, Illinois: "Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well-wisher to his posterity, swear by the blood of the Revolution never to violate in the least particular the laws of the country, and never to tolerate their violation by others."[1] We must recognize the divine nature of law and its

[1] Address before the Young Men's Lyceum of Springfield, Illinois, January 27, 1837. Complete Works, p. 12.

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sacred sanctions; we must make the Republic not only a community of self-governing individuals but a self-governing community; we must cure the evils of present democracy by a truer and more consistent democracy; we must reconcile liberty and law by making law the instrument of liberty; and we must carry both liberty and law not only into our government but into all our institutions. We who have emancipated the laborer from chains must emancipate him from dependence on the capitalists; we must begin by making capitalists and laborers partners in a common enterprise, and end by making the capitalists also laborers and the laborers also capitalists. We must bring the home, the school, and the church into a closer and more cordial co-operation in the work of education, and so extend that education, both in the character of the subjects treated and in the classes of population taught, that it will provide a fair equipment of all the people, in all the arts of life, for all honorable vocations, and so fit them by self-education to be both self-supporting and self-governing. And we must recognize the home as the fundamental social organization, underlying all other organizations, and marriage as no mere commercial or social partnership founded on contract, but a divine order founded on the natural comradeship between man and woman, essentially different and essentially equal. What is the type of religious life that fits for such a self-organizing, self-educating, and self-governing community I shall consider in the next and closing paper of this series.

THE NEGRO: A PORTRAIT

BY A SOUTHERN WOMAN

This article is not a scientific study of the Negro, but it is an interesting, and we think useful, human impression prompted by such a study. It is by a Southern woman vitally interested, as all intelligent Southerners are, in the so-called Negro problem. In her hands we placed recently a scientific book on the subject. This volume is entitled "Social and Mental Traits of the Negro: A Study in Race Traits, Tendencies, and Prospects." It is one of the Columbia University series in Political Science, its author is Henry W. Odum, Ph.D., and it is published by Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co. The special interest of the article seems to us to lie in the fact that it is a friendly Southern view of a friendly Northern study of what is essentially a Southern problem.—THE EDITORS.

THE book seems to me a fair presentation of the facts. That is its fault—it is a presentation only and not an argument. The author has armed himself with a mass of statistics and statement of facts which do not appeal because back of them there is no literary style. Such a book should be undertaken only by a man who is skilled in the art of writing. An idea may be powerful in itself, but few realize the latent possibilities of an idea until it is transformed by the alchemy of the writer. But what the author of this book has to say seems to be without prejudice. In his treatment of the degradation of the negro little is left to the imagination, nor does he belittle the difficulties which the Southerner meets with in his dealings with the negro. In fact, I had read more than half through the volume before I began to suspect that it was written by a Northern man.

Throughout the book slight mention is made of two facts which I think should be more emphasized—the Southerner's indifference to the negro's fate, and the indifference of the negro himself to his own fate.

The negro does not take himself seriously, and therefore does not achieve; and the inevitable consequence of this feeling on the part of the negro is that he occupies no place in the white man's esteem. In either the individual or the race, achievement brings recognition and respect. Judged from the standpoint of achievement, the negro race is a failure,

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and in the eyes of the world failure is the cardinal sin. Then it is hardly to be wondered at that the Southerner is indifferent, for Nature's lesson is constantly before us, teaching that the unfit suffer at the hands of the fit. Yet, on the other hand, the Southerner feels what might be termed an intellectual interest in the negro. I dare say there is no man of liberal thinking in the South to-day who would not express a profound admiration for the man Booker T. Washington and for his work. That he, the son of a woman once a slave, should set his face toward the stern task of uplifting and educating the befogged minds of his own race, seems one of the marvels of these days; for it is not what a man accomplishes that should most command our respect, but what in himself he has overcome. However, if I or any other Southerner were asked to transmute this intellectual interest into concrete form—to give the negro such recognition as one white man gives another—there would come the immediate realization of the hopelessness of such an effort: it is a mental attitude of which the Southerner is incapable. The problem of the negro fascinates the mind; the negro himself is repulsive. Yet just at this point lies the paradox of the situation. Several years ago I returned to my native city for a short stay. There lived in the town an old servant who had worked in our family for about twenty years. As soon as she learned that I was in town she came to the house, waiting humbly on the back porch. When I came out to speak to her, she picked me up in her arms and kissed my cheek. In this simple salutation there was mingled her love for the woman she had cared for as a little child and her pride in being identified with our family. The dark-skinned woman has passed away, but there will remain with me always a sweet memory.

It seems to me that the author has attacked the problem "externally." For instance, he thinks that the race is growing worse, and quotes the increase in crime to substantiate his views; nor does he stop to inquire into causes. He apparently ignores the fact that, at the close of the war, freedom was given to a primitive race, and they, like all primitive peoples, construed freedom into license. To-day they are learning the hard lesson that freedom means responsibility, and in this process of readjustment it is small wonder that some of the worst qualities are evolved. Another influence which militates against the negro is the mixture of bloods. He has reached that stage where, as Ruth McEnery Stuart says, "he has white ambition with nigger principle."

The aroused ambition which comes with his white blood complicates the problem of the race. Whether he be educated or not, life must remain for him a tragedy. If he continues ignorant, it is the tragedy of ignorance; if he becomes educated, it is the tragedy of despair—he reaches the heights only to find himself a social outcast. The author says: "Negroes will not want social equality." As a matter of fact, they do want it. It is their consuming ambition. It seems impossible to eradicate such a sentiment, when social equality ultimately would mean to the negro the consummation of all ambitions—for social equality would go hand in hand with education, financial success, recognition in any line, or rather would be the climax of them. Maeterlinck says: "Once you have looked a sorrow squarely in the eye, it can harm you no more." Perhaps this remedy for sorrow may, in a measure, be applied to problems. We must be frank with the negro, even if frankness may for a time mean cruelty, casting about in our minds meanwhile for a panacea for this gaping wound of social ambition. That is Nature's way—whenever she wants to teach men, she is rough. And while the white man tells the negro that they two shall work side by side, yet apart, he should strive to inculcate in the negro a pride of race, for, more than any other sentiment, it fires ambition and keeps men decent. If any man disbelieve, let him ask of the millions of silent workers who toil for little, to whom pleasure is but a name, whose hearts sometimes fail, but who stick to their colors because of a flickering spark of pride. This development of racial pride in the negro will be a slow process, through hundreds of years, perhaps, for the simple reason that they have very little to be proud of; but it will give the white man a chance to prove that he has infinite patience.

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The author dwells at some length upon the sensuality of the negro, and seems to regard it as one of the worst aspects of the negro character. I may be mistaken, but it has always seemed to me that the finer sentiments, romance and even love, were but spiritualized forms of sensuality. I have often wondered why the student of the negro problem did not realize that fact and make more use of it.

If I should attempt to write anything about the negro, I should take as the central idea round which all else is grouped, the fact that the negro, a primitive race, was suddenly set down in the midst of a civilized people. This is a thing that makes a problem of him. Left to himself and his own civilization, his development would have been normal. Instead, we begin by projecting our ideas into the African brain, and in every case a modern thought is met by a primitive emotion. The result could have been no other than chaos.

In looking back over the years of the human race covered by authentic history, we can easily see a continuous ascent in the ethical standards of men. If we allow the imagination to drop below the horizon down into prehistoric times, following out this same law, we can easily conceive of a time when no such moral standards existed as do exist to-day—when in matters of sex the law of mutual attraction (Nature's law) was the one consideration between man and woman; when a man, being hungry, got food as best he might, stealing perhaps from some other man of those early times, or maybe fighting him for it; and if, at times, a vague, inevitable wonder beset his mind and he began to question why, it might be that at night he looked out toward the stars, thinking that there lived a being who could explain and to whom he might offer his allegiance. Thus the physical, the emotional, the spiritual in the savage found simple expression. There was no law save the law of supply and demand. There was desire; there was gratification. Such was primitive man; such is the negro of to-day. The charge, then, that we make against the negro is that he is primitive.

In our day there is a growing feeling against war. Men are beginning to think it is wrong. But when war actually comes, we spin fine theories to justify the crime. After an act is once committed, the easiest accomplishment within the grasp of men is self-justification. Yet what are the conquests of war if they are not the thieveries of the nations of the world? We, who have condemned theft in the negro, are ourselves guilty of the sin.

We hear much of the immorality and prostitution of the negro women; and we who have lived in the South know that, when a negress becomes the property of a white man, it gives her prestige among her own race. Yet we have a parallel in what is called "good society." Immorality and prostitution have been made legal in the eyes of the law—a mother is allowed to marry her daughter to the highest bidder regardless of any preference on the daughter's part. Society and the law approve; such a mother and such a daughter are considered moral women, and the daughter has prestige because she has brought a high price. Some will say that such immorality is beyond the reach of the law. That is true. But the point is that it does exist, one of the most subtle sins in our day, this prostituting of woman in marriage, for at the last there is but one judge of the whole matter—her own conscience.

We steal and plunder and murder, but we call it war, and think to deceive the Almighty. We sell our women, but we call it marriage because it is done in the name of the law. The negro sins crudely; he has our failings in embryo. He has not yet attained unto the sins of the civilized man, nor has he learned to disguise a gross sin in the garb of a fine name.

However, if he has the white man's failings, he also has the seed of some of his finer qualities. At heart he is a philosopher and a poet. An old negro woman had worked for years in a Southern family, and during that time she had been uniformly patient and kind, and always cheerful. One day her mistress asked her, "Aunt Mandy, what makes you so cheerful all the time?" She threw back her head and laughed, saying, "Lawd God, chile, I jes' weahs de wurl' lak a loose gyarment." Some of the wittiest retorts I have ever heard have been from the negro race.

In what I have said I do not intend to

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justify a single sin of the negro. I simply want to signify that he is not the monstrosity that some alarmists insist. He is an undisciplined, crude creature who must find the solution of his problem in himself, not in the assistance of the white man—otherwise such powers as he has will atrophy and die from disuse. The salvation of the negro will be a slow process, but nature works slowly and we can only help. There will be those who object to this idea, who will say that, while evolution is accomplishing its work, thousands are living and dying in vice and ignorance. That is true—one of the hard facts that life teaches us. Nature is a cruel mistress, and while she perfects the few she encompasses the death of many.

EARNING A VALLEY

BY WILLIAM NORTHROP MORSE

"TWO dollar for dis head! My head no worth two dollar!" exploded Dyminter Saloski, the Polish farm-hand.

The poll tax collector was robbing him! But that was ten years ago; to-day Dyminter's head is worth four thousand dollars. He does not think of the poll tax now, as he pays without rebellion his $16 per $1,000 property tax, which means schools for his many children and roads for his wagon. Year by year many Dyminters cease being farm-hands to become sharers or owners; year by year their old places are taken by new, ambitious, pithy men from the home towns in Europe. For up and down the Connecticut Valley, notably in Massachusetts, the Polish laborer is proving so worthy of his hire that he is rapidly buying his employer out.

"Polander," the name used by the Valley, blankets indiscriminately the real Poles, from Russian Poland, from Austria, and from East Germany, as well as the Lithuanians and the Finns—Slav and Mongol—peoples some of whom cannot understand each other's tongue. The Russian and Austrian Poles predominate, with the Lithuanians second; the others are numerically much less important. To the Valley people a "Polander" is a "Polander," and these invaders from the east of Europe are of the same stuff—a new stratum pushing irresistibly upward.

To be sure, Poles and Lithuanians will each assert the inferiority of the other. A Russian Pole averred:

"De Lithuish fellers, dey all drinks awful bad and fights."

"Worse than the Poles?" I asked.

"Sure. De Poles, dey no drink much; and fight? no!"

The next Pole indignantly denied this, boasting that the "Polions" could drink just as much and fight just as hard as the Lithuanians, who in turn will inform you that the Poles are of a lower order of being.

At a Lithuanian celebration and a Polish dance I found the two races mixing on so equal an understanding as to discount their social and moral cleavages. In truth, they are an economic unit today, and when they have mastered English, which most of them soon use commercially, and have a common tongue, they will also doubtless be a social unit.

In the economic struggle now on between the newcomer and the New England farmer the odds are heavily on the new. For the Poles and Finns and Lithuanians who come to work in the Valley are sturdy peasants, their city cousins thronging the manufacturing centers, where they work for inferior wages. These peasants come like an invading army, bearing economic weapons that are irresistible: great vigor, unending patience, an ability for ceaseless manual toil lost by the New Englanders, honesty, and hope.

The best of the newcomers toil up in a decade from nothing to prosperity, the average man taking a few years longer; the percentage of failures is low.

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Mr. Jackenowski, one of the first class, whose neighbors up and down this Hadley road are all Polish, went on pitching corn-stalks for the winter feeding as he told me how he and his brother had emigrated with nothing, and had earned a farm which $5,000 wouldn't buy; and in New England an out-in-the-country farm worth that is the exceptional one.

"My brudder and I come over to dis country, work hard for Yankee farmers—no good wages—save up all we can, buy dis farm on mortgage—forty acre, all cut over pine land. I and my brudder get married; drag out old pine stumps—ugh, dey was tough!—plant potat's, make de ground good; now we paid off mortgage, raise plenty onions, tobac'. See all my barns? Nice? We build them out of own wood mostly. Got fine wood-lot up in Leverett—fifty acre."

The Jackenowskis had four barns and a good-looking modern house, all built since they had acquired the forty acres of stumps. The house was painted a bright, cheerful yellow, and vines were trained upon it.

"Me and my brudder—him and family live one end, me and family de udder."

Several sturdy children were helping him in the barn: a boy of seven on the load, a lad of ten in the loft to stow away, and a little girl of five or six on the floor to pick up the dropped corn-stalks.

"How many children have you?" I felt like a census-taker.

"I got eight. Some day I get old—want plenty help—have all de children I can."

"And your brother—how many has he?"

He paused a moment to count, then said, with a grin of uncertainty, "I t'ink he got five."

Thirteen little Jackenowskis to keep that farm from running to weeds. To the father children were not liabilities but assets.

For the children of the Poles toil as many of our fathers tell us they did when they were boys. In summer in the humid heat of the valley they are down on their knees from morning to night, deftly and quickly lifting the tiny weeds from between the individual onion plants. On rows near by are the grandparents, perhaps an old wrinkled grandmother wearing a flaming red petticoat; she may have rounded her threescore years and ten, but she is still vigorously clawing out the weeds. The children first inspect the onions from their baby-carriages. On the plains of Hadley you may see at scorching noon a mother pushing a baby-carriage along the onion row, then weeding up to it, and repeating the process hour after hour. The baby handles his own bottle—which sours in the sun—learning self-reliance young, and the advantages of an uncomplaining spirit.

The little ones, who only for the first two or three years are too young to work; and the grandparents, who are never too old; the waistless mother, who cannot make housekeeping or child-training her vocation; and the stocky, sinewy father—all of them working together make possible the large onion crop and its high profits. Americans don't grow onions—they haven't the backs for it.

Many of the children suffer from the lack of care inevitably following this all-day hunchback toil of the entire family, concentrated upon earning a farm, the height of the ambition of the agricultural Pole. The priest said to me sadly:

"For every one that I have for an Irish or Italian child I have two little Polish graves."

What many of the race have climbed through was summed up for me by George Thomas, a Lutheran Pole.

"When I first come to dis country, I work out for ten dollar der mont' and board. Den I get two hunderd and seventy-six dollar year widout board. How I save one dollar? How can I support mein family and buy food for mein wife and little sons?"

Times have changed. George Thomas has finally won his farm, but he cannot pay his own helper the small wages he had been dealt, for he went on: "Now I give twenty dollar mont' to man to help me, an' *gran'* board. And what he do to pay me for it? Mein little boy over dere"—a bright-faced chap who was rapidly sorting tobacco leaves—"ten year ol', can go out wit' his hoe and finish t'ree row of corn while dat man no do two. Ach, he no good!"

But he had kept him to the end of the

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season, for "Polish farmers cannot work all der land dey wants to, because dey cannot get de help."

Like many, he rated his barn higher than his house.

"I make fine farm, good barn," he said; "I no care 'bout house. I buy meinself fine cows, fine horses, fine pigs, fertilizer, raise onions and tobac'. What I care 'bout house?"

The desire for the pleasant house may come in the next generation of Thomases. With his neighbors the Jackenowskis it has come in this. As the priest passed by the latter's farm late at night he found them up on the roof shingling. "They work from starlight to starlight when they are paying for a farm," he told me, "and they are still at it Saturday night, when the Yankee or Irishman is driving into town for a shave or a good time."

"What will your sons do?" I asked Thomas; he had three working with him. "Will you cut up the farm?"

"Nein," he replied, with a confident smile; "dey will get farms of deir own; dey will all do much better dan I have. Ja!"

His sons spoke English without a trace of accent. This is typical of the Polish children in the country, who acquire the tongue, principally through the good public schools, as skillfully as they learn to weed onions.

Harry Briskow cares so much about his house that his farm has not developed with those of the Thomases. "Harry" is from Austria, and is considered an authority on the Polish-American farm, since he has been in this country over twenty years. His place, of only a few acres, is perched on the edge of Mount Warner, and his house partly explains why he has to rent land to grow tobacco. One would have praised it as an especially neat American farm-house, it was so white and tidy and clean-looking. The barn was a strong, rich red—not a board rotting for lack of paint. The yard was clean. Five children came out to see me, the third, about four years old, carrying the baby. Father and mother were up in the wood-lot loading logs for the winter.

"Did your mother work out before she was married?" I asked the eldest. Many an immigrant Polish girl goes out as servant for several years, putting nine out of every ten dollars of her wages in the savings bank, while her young man is working as a farm-hand; then the two join fortunes, take a farm on mortgage, have a houseful of children, and gradually shake the mortgage off their strong backs.

"No," explained eleven-year-old Susy (Americanized from Sofia), a pretty, slender blonde child, "my mother, she did not have to work out. She had been in this country only one week when the man where she was staying came and said to my father: 'Harry, very pretty girl over at my house; better come and see her.' And my father, he went right away, and called on my mother, and he looked at her, and said to himself, 'That girl's pretty enough to marry right off quick.' And so my father married my mother, and she did not have to work out before she was married."

"But did she work after?"

"Oh, yes, they had to pay for the farm, and she went out to work in the next house, and she left me to look after my brother—he was not one year old, and I not two and a half—and they put me in the cradle and told me to rock him to sleep, and we both lie in the cradle, and I rock it, and put him to sleep, and then I go to sleep too."

The boy was pale and thin, poor child, and the baby, eighteen months old, appeared sickly, dough-faced, and flabby, and when I asked what it ate, Susy said, with an air of surprise, "Why, everything!" Yet most of those who live are strong, and look like the survival of the fittest.

Molesky, from Russian Poland, is another man who has made over a farm that had gone to seed—weed seed. He lives in a large, old-fashioned New England house, in the stretch where the abandoned farms begin to lie between the cultivated—specters among the living. He has forty-three acres, and enough wood for his own use.

"I get money, I get rich some day," he said, grandly. "If I sell de farm, it is for much more moneys dan I pays for it. I meinself did everyt'ing. When I buy, no fences, rain come down on hayloft, no good roofs, no *nutting;* I build 'em all. Now what you t'ink of dis barn?" for all

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of it was tight and workmanly. "And I have fine crops—onions, tobac', potatoes, corn, horses, cows, *everyt'ing!*" They are fond of enumerating their blessings, permitted by Providence, because earned by themselves.

Near Molesky were four new Polish farmers who had built as many small homes by their own labor under a carpenter foreman. They had bought land that was unused by its American owner because "he had more than he knew what to do with," *i. e.*, could farm profitably.

Not only the run-down farms made over and those cut as pieces from the old belong to the Poles, but many of the best in the Valley. Go where one will in the lowlands, one will find that, when possible, they will buy the most productive land, and are capable of working off a staggering mortgage.

The famous Cephas Graves farm, south of Sunderland, is an instance of this high aim, being known by every farmer for miles as the place that grew the prize tobacco for the World's Fair. When the owner died, I was told, his son decided that he could not pay off the mortgage without years of heartbreaking toil, and preferred to take up poorer and cheaper land to the east in Leverett. A Russian Pole took the place, paying $300 down and giving a mortgage for $7,500, borrowing from another Pole, who is not the only one of his race capable of lending that sum on good physical security, the money-lender having become thus well off through his own hard toil and frugality since leaving disheartening Europe.

A quarter of a mile below the recently purchased estate for the Amherst College Inn is the Berkley Smith farm of over fifty acres, with its handsome house facing on broad, elm-shaded South Pleasant Street, the farm and surroundings, even to its name, New England to the core. The property was still so attractive, even after its beautiful woods had been razed, that one of the professors was making anxious inquiries, when it was snapped up by some Rogerowskis. They paid a little cash and took out a $5,000 mortgage. In the second year their slaving over the onions netted them $2,000, and they can look cheerfully forward to the day of emancipation. For the Rogerowskis, like the Jackenowskis, have a farm-yard of children.

With their wages gone up to a point undreamed of a few years ago, not many remain farm-hands. The cost of living does not disquiet the Polish laborer, for he rejects the thought of luxuries and conveniences until he has secured his farm. He gets from $20 to $23 a month, with $14 more for food, because as yet few American farmers' wives will board him; he is welcome at one of the numerous boarding-houses of his people. Neither will he give his employer the twelve and fourteen hour day he used to, saving his excess strength until it tells in cash returns to himself—the Pole is wearing off his green.

Only near the manufacturing centers do the antiquated wages still survive. An assessor at Ludlow informed me that during the long and dramatic strike of the factory Poles there for a living wage it was the aim of the company to keep always from fifty to one hundred waiting for a job. These could be picked up by the farmers in this time of idleness for often merely their board. The assessor seemed amazed when he was told the wages paid up the Valley. In Ludlow itself, however, a number of Poles have become successful independent farmers, and three own good milk routes.

The opportunity for work all the year is so steady that even the migrating bachelor Pole is becoming a winter resident. Formerly, when the harvest season was over, an army of discharged hands would go down to the Pennsylvania coal mines, to return with the bluebirds in the spring. To-day most winter North and go into other work—tobacco-sorting in the big establishments in South Deerfield, wood-chopping, ice-cutting.

They are indisputably the great farm laboring class in the Connecticut Valley. "All our boys are crazy to get off to the city, and we can't stop them," explained a New England farmer, "and our girls—they go to business college. Without the Poles we couldn't possibly run our farms, and they do certainly earn their wages."

When the Valley farmer closes terms with the Pole, he knows that the latter will keep his word, therein having the advantage of the too much envied Californian

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rancher, who fears that his Japanese laborers may decamp in a body, leaving him helpless at fruit-picking season, because he would not or could not go beyond the contracted wages, already high.

In some respects the Polish farmer and the Japanese are not unlike; both are successful onion-raisers, each rents advantageously much land, and each race has here in America a large number of prosperous independent farmers.

As timber for American citizens, however, the two can only be contrasted. For the Pole is steady and faithful, is scrupulously honest about his debts, is just in business relations. The Pole is sexually much more moral than the Oriental; he is a Christian and monogamous, he can intermarry with the native stock, and has done so successfully. Above all, he wishes to become an American, he is making his home here, and his children's and his grandchildren's; he is like enough to us to raise no race problem. He has the essentials of good citizenship, and will not only be assimilated but will add fiber to the Nation.

The chief objection the New Englanders make to the Poles is that their wedding and christening celebrations are a nuisance, for they sometimes last a week and are so lively that the neighbors have continuous insomnia. Liquor vanishes in regrettable quantities, and fighting often goes with it. The principals usually turn up in court next day.

In one Polish center the American judge, doing all he can to discourage such brawling, inflicts fines by this simple method:

"When I can't make head or tail of it, I fine the man who gave the celebration, also the person against whom the charge of assault is brought; then, to make sure, I fine the Pole who made the charge, and the guilty person is sure to get punished." It must be stated that, except for fighting among themselves on such festive occasions and for drunkenness, they have a notably clean court record. And many of the younger generation, and many of the better class, do not attend these merrymakings, which, anyway, are not so unlike the old-time conduct of the Irish when drowning their sorrow at a well-equipped wake.

In partial extenuation one young and well-educated Pole said, "In Poland they allow saloons only in the big places; here one can get all he wants anywhere, or bring it in." The agricultural Poles in the Valley come from the little places. "So," concluded Dominick, "the Poles drink much more here than they do in Poland. Ja!"

Even so, "'Many Polander drunks?'" repeated the street car conductor. "Naw, they're not the ones that give us the trouble."

Their honesty is a byword. Merchant after merchant gave the same forcible reply—the most honest people in the Valley.

"In all of the six years I've run this store," said an Amherst butcher and greengrocer, "I've had only one bad bill from the Polanders, and I do lots of business with them. And ——" (a coal, wood, and plumbing man), "who's been here ten years, was telling me the same thing, and, come to find out, it was the identical Polander who'd done us both. One thing about them," he reflected, "is they don't buy beyond what they know they can pay for."

"Do you take out a lien on the crop?" This was in a country store, an emporium for the Poles.

"No, sir; you can trust 'em," the Yankee clerk answered. "Why, we run up bills from $250 to $350 with single Polanders; they'll always pay when they've cashed in their tobacco or their onions. —Hey, wait, and I'll help you," and he sped out to assist a Polish farmer who was starting off with six barrels of flour and two of sugar, bought on sure credit.

"How about the French Canadians?" I asked another dealer.

"The French!" and he laughed; "the worst debtors a store can have. Why, a business man from —— was telling me that every time he saw a train pull out for the north he thought, 'Gee, there's some more of my debtors skipped to Canada!'"

Some years ago the onion crop failed for three successive seasons in Sunderland, and there was a temporary falling off of the Polish population, when many turned to the mines of Pennsylvania; the storekeepers and other creditors are still marveling, for every bill was paid up before the departure.

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The Poles have mastered the growing of onions and tobacco, both great but difficult and treacherous crops ; they have been successful with market gardening, with milk routes of their own—the more progressive " raising milk " for the creamery, the others for the daily train to Boston. There is no reason why they cannot continue their success by taking up other lines of agriculture. Perhaps they will win back for the New England apple its former rightful eminence, lost to the scientific and businesslike Northwest.

Without the Poles many once prosperous agricultural communities would have become senile. Those farming towns where they have entered which were falling in population and losing their youth to the city are growing in numbers and becoming young again. The towns where they have not yet come are still dwindling. The Poles are rushing the lines of the abandoned farm tracts backward which were creeping out into the Valley.

It was in such a section, at an old-fashioned " Corners," that I stopped.

" Do the people up here let their children play with the Polish children ?" I inquired.

" ' Children ?' " the man said bitterly ; " there aren't any American chlidren left here—just old folks ; all the children are Polish."

Yes, across the street I found them working, and down the road were four more new families.

In the lower grades of the Sunderland schools the Polish outnumber all others. Some of the small rural schools that in the nature of things would have been closed are filled with chubby little Polish faces.

They are reaching back now, these vigorous newcomers, into the less fertile regions, and it is probably only a question of time before they will march up the steep hills into the real " back country," where the once blooming towns have gone to rot through the Westward movement, the railways isolating the hills, the fever for city life, and also because of the continual intermarriage of the same stock ; where the house sites are filled with burdocks and young sumacs, and the once fruitful orchards are submerged with match timber and future railway ties.

It was in the very center of such a town, with the store and town hall and meeting-house standing about the little " green," that the wife of a selectman said to me, as she looked mournfully away from her doorstep over the advancing sea of second and third growth of woods below us—miles and miles of it :

" There aren't any young folks left anywhere near us now. We had some neighbors half a mile down the road, but they tried to pick so many quarrels that we were glad when they moved away. My daughter is the only young person anywhere round here."

" Yes, it's terribly lonesome," added the daughter, " and the woods are full of cellar-holes."

This half-deserted " cellar-hole " country will probably attract the second army of the Poles ; for the neglected land is only a few dollars an acre, and full of possibilities, growing the finest of potatoes and some of it even tobacco, while the orchards only wait until the State will permit the elimination of the deer—a veritable pest—which ravage the young trees.

There is only one productive community down in the Valley that I have found where the New Englanders have preserved intact the old atmosphere, the local farmers combining to buy in any farm that comes on their market, to hold it until sold advantageously to one of their own race.

In another town the best that could be done by the more or less actual alliance against the Poles was to keep them off the southern end of " the street." The little hotel in the very center of the village is now rented out by a Pole to many Polish families.

" When the Poles offered you $150 an acre for land you'd reckoned as worth $100, why, people began to let go," said a resident of lovely old Sunderland ; " then it went jumping up to $175 and $200, and then to $225 and $250, and now almost anybody sells, Polander or no Polander.

" And they're certainly helping the community," my informant went on. " Why, over there on the plains we used to say that the land was so poor it was only fit to hold the world together ; the farms had all failed out, they had to shut up the school-house—there wasn't enough

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children left to fill a bushel basket. Then came the demand for a lighter leaf tobacco, and the Poles took advantage of it, and are making that land pay, and raising children—the town brings in two great team-loads to school every morning!"

To-day this Sunderland is more than half Polish, the historic town of Hatfield has more Polish births than all others combined, South Deerfield is a Polish hive, and when one visits famous broad and beautiful West Street, in Hadley, as likely as not a Polish head will be at the shapely window of the Colonial house you are admiring.

The Poles—those from Russia—came first largely for political reasons now obsolete. Austrian and Russian Poles are coming now, and coming to stay, through two causes: because they win a large success here, and because they become genuinely fond of the country.

"Me no want to go back to Poland," I have been told again and again. "Me like this country—*all right* here."

They wish their children to become Americans, to keep on in the schools, and some day to earn farms of their own. The children are very happy here.

"Yes, they're great people," said a carpenter to me; "and it's wonderful how the Polanders have slicked up and learned the ways of the country quicker than the French—yes, and the Irish too. I calculate that in about thirty-five years they'll be the leading race 'round here."

They are giving their fresh, healthy blood to a weakened part of the country.

Our New England ancestors were pioneers in a wilderness of forests and Indians; the Poles have been pioneers in a wilderness of civilization, of economics, of a new language and strange customs. And much in the same measure that the early pioneers succeeded, and with many of the same tools—frugality, great manual toil, and many children—the sturdy new pioneers are coming into their own, an "own" which is a possession not inherited, but earned.

LETTERS TO THE OUTLOOK

MR. ROOSEVELT AND THE "EVENING POST"

I have read with much satisfaction Mr. Roosevelt's reply in The Outlook of September 3 to the editorial in the New York "Evening Post." Additional proof of the "Post's" eligibility for membership in the Ananias Club is given by the following: Upon the expiration of Mr. Roosevelt's term as President it editorially declared that his name should never again appear in its columns. This brought forth a spirited defense of the retiring President from a friend of mine. It was returned by the editor of the "Post" with these words: "To publish your letter would be breaking the promise of the 'Evening Post' never to mention this name again." How many hundred times has this promise been broken? To have made it is but proof of some people's misconception of the caliber of the man. Because he had ended one period of his career, to contemplate the possibility of conducting a NEWSpaper that would exclude the name of the most vital personality in the world to-day was a childish estimate of the situation.

New York. CHARLES VEZIN.

WHAT MR. ROOSEVELT REPRESENTS

The article in the New York "Sun," August 25, on "The War of the Bosses," seems to have been written in political despair. As a matter of fact, the antipathy for Mr. Roosevelt which can distill political pessimism as fine as that is not without its humorous side. The cynical slur, however, about "a pseudo-intellectual, moral and political sovereignty of Kansas and Iowa over New York and the East" reveals uncommonly dense political Bourbonism and local prejudice. Perhaps the "Sun" has forgotten that the parents of the typical Kansan and Iowan of to-day were all Easterners, and that many of them were stirred to seize and hold the prairies of the West by deep, serious political conviction. It may be that a small portion of this spirit has fallen upon the sons of the West. What nonsense the "Sun" indulges in!

But, we are told, all bosses are alike bad, Roosevelt included. And to swap the rule of several bosses like the "Old Guard" for the rule of "one man who would be the sole boss" would be very unfortunate; for it would destroy the "political independence of the Republican party" in New York. And as between the purposes of Roosevelt and the "Old Guard," there is no distinction. So the "Sun" would have us think.

I, for one, refuse to think so. I see a mountain of real difference. Mr. Roosevelt is, of course, ambitious. For aught I know or care, he may be ambitious for another term at the White House. If he is not

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ambitious in that direction, I hope he is in some other just as useful to his countrymen. But Mr. Roosevelt, as I understand him, has always made it his serious purpose, and has been eminently successful in realizing his purpose, to identify his ambitions with the welfare of his countrymen. That is why I like him and believe in him. And the "Sun" is greatly mistaken if it assumes that the masses are simply thinking—echoing—Roosevelt's ideas. The fact is, he is thinking our thought quite as much as we are thinking his. He has a great faculty for guessing what is on the other side of the political hill before marching round it. I believe President Taft is all the "Sun" declares him, "able, upright, modest, patient," and a great deal more that is good and admirable; but he made a costly political mistake when he surrounded himself with a bad set of political senses—his reactionary Cabinet and political advisers. He has had too many close friends who are past-masters in exploiting the powers, delegated by the sovereign people to the National Government, for the benefit of special interests. Strange that Mr. Aldrich did not level the Rubber rate down instead of up, when for administrative purposes the uniform rate was desired. No, after all, it is strange only to those who believe that "public office is a public trust."

I am a Republican, but the representatives of my ideas are chiefly in the Mississippi Valley. But anon we will have them here, too. For there is more political Insurgency in New England than is dreamt of in the political philosophy of many wise ones.

The new idea in politics is here, and it is here in power. Our public service corporations must learn that ownership is subordinate to stewardship. Roosevelt is the exponent of this idea and has been the most eminent leader in asserting the sovereignty of the people and the accountability of all stewards of public powers to them. We must bring the "Old Guard" and the "men higher up" to account, and thus save the country from the pitfalls of Socialism.

GEORGE E. CELL.

West Newton, Massachusetts.

THE RIGHT TO TAX

In an interesting article by Dr. Lyman Abbott on "Political Socialism" in The Outlook of August 13 he makes the statement, in dissenting from the justice of the doctrine "From every man according to his ability, to every man according to his need," that "no State has a right to take from me without giving me adequate compensation for it," and justifies the right of the State to tax only in that it returns adequate compensation in protection to the taxed. This theory of taxation, that it is based upon compensation to the individual taxed, does not seem borne out by the practice of modern States. It is quite true that protection is afforded the taxed and his goods, and in some degree proportionate to the amount of the tax, but precisely the same protection is afforded the person, natural or corporate, who is for any reason exempt from tax. A large percentage of taxation, moreover, is spent in the direct or indirect alleviation of poverty and suffering, through asylums, hospitals, poor funds, etc. In this there can be no idea of personal compensation to the taxed, since such services are usually free to those without property only. In so far as these governmental activities support either theory of taxation, it appears to be that embodied in the Socialistic dogma. It seems to the writer that the correct theory of modern taxation rests on the assumption of power in the State—within Constitutional limits—to undertake certain duties owed to its citizens, and to appropriate from them, as nearly as possible according to their possessions, the sums necessary for the execution of these duties. A comparatively small part of its duties are along the line of protection, and this, as I have shown, is owed equally to the taxed and the untaxed. There was a time when protection was confined pretty much to those only who furnished the sinews of government, but it did not make for just government. Where the Socialist propaganda breaks down is rather in the assumption that perfect theories applied in this imperfect world will at once produce perfect results than in any particular error in theory, it seems to me. Certainly Socialistic theories have profoundly affected modern governments, and very generally along the line of Christian precepts.

JAMES H. BUNCE.

Oak Bluffs, Massachusetts.

[This writer seems to us to ignore the solidarity of society, which The Outlook does not ignore. It is not true that each taxpayer pays simply for his own protection; but the community as a whole makes up a common purse, primarily for the protection of the community as a whole, and secondarily for the promotion of its own interests. Poverty, ignorance, and disease are as truly perilous to the community and as truly destructive of its common interests as war; and taxation to remedy, not merely relieve, poverty, ignorance, and disease is therefore as legitimate as taxation to build battle-ships or construct and man fortifications.—THE EDITORS.]

FOREST FIRES

The interesting article in The Outlook of Jnly 30 on the prevention of forest fires concludes by saying: "New York, however, has set the standard by requiring, under State direction, effectual and positive remedies for preventing forest fires *by the railways*." You rightly commend the State of New York for adopting this progressive policy, but it is well to remember that not one fact establishing the need for this policy was known in 1909 that was not as well known

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prior to the inexcusable "devastation" caused by the forest fires of 1903 and 1908. The State has thus far dealt with but one of many causes of forest fires. Others are pressing upon the public attention, and action should not be delayed until further ruin follows continued neglect. I venture to urge, as one of the greatest of these dangers, the uncontrolled use of the Adirondack Park by campers, picnic parties, and "trippers" who may enter the woods anywhere, build fires where they please, tent where they please, and leave behind them a trail of ruin and desolation with very little possibility of their having to account to any one.

This is a present and rapidly growing danger, and the remedy is easy. The State should require every one entering the woods, intending to camp or build fires of any sort, to first obtain a license and be under control and direction of intelligent, reliable guides or wardens. Picnic and camp fires should be built only in designated locations and under specified conditions.

The revenue from these licenses would largely, if not entirely, meet all necessary expenses. The control would no doubt be irksome to those who are not interested in helping to preserve this great State property. What is wanted in New York State is definite, positive, and intelligent action in the solution of its own local problems, and not merely sending delegations to National gatherings for academic debating about general conservation problems. It is better to give a practical object-lesson by *doing* something; and that there is something to be done is known to every lover of these beautiful woods and waters.

You will confer a public benefit if you will detail some intelligent representative of The Outlook to go through the Adirondack reserve and establish the facts to your satisfaction, so that you may assume the leadership in urging and continuing to urge prompt action on the part of the State. The State holds these woods and waters as a sacred trust for "the generation to come."

FRANK J. FIRTH.

In the Adirondacks, Upper Saranac,
New York.

THE BOY SCOUTS AND THE FRANCONIA STORIES

On reading those most interesting papers in the August Outlook on "The Boy Scouts," I cannot resist writing you to assert that the earliest trace of the governing idea—to wit, the utilizing of the energy of the boy for constructive—instead of leaving it to its normal trend to destructive—purposes is to be found (where so much of what was invaluable and useful in the training of American youth originated, in the "Franconia Stories" of Jacob Abbott.

I have not seen them for more than fifty years, of course. But I remember, in one of them, that when Rodolphus proposed to build a pier at the swimming-pool for diving purposes, his mentor, "Beechnut," suggested that if he built that pier by himself the neighboring boys would destroy it; but that if he invited all the boys in the neighborhood to assist in its construction he would retain every purpose of ownership while at once securing a patrol and a guard to preserve it and keep it in repair. And the plan was a most admirable success!

In looking backward as far as I can, I believe that to those Franconia Stories I owe the most important part of my education. This may sound extravagant, but it seems to me nothing less than a fact. The succeeding volumes were given to me as prizes for learning my multiplication tables. They were the first books I ever read independently for and by myself, and, whatever I have learned or thought I have learned and have forgotten since, I am sure that I should not be afraid to-day, in my declining years, to be put to the test of narrating the story of Rodolphus or of Beechnut, of Ellen Linn or of Hepsibah, and of every one of the delightful gallery.

As to the books themselves, I should recognize anywhere the red covers, the neat letterpress, the little mortised-in pictures, and I had not read a page of Mr. Blumenfeld's "Boy Scouts" before the story of Rodolphus's diving pier at the swimming-pool, even the aspect of the page on which it was printed, and the little woodcut of the pier itself, were right here before me.

APPLETON MORGAN.

East Orange, New Jersey.

PROTECTING ANIMALS IN NAPLES

I should be very grateful if you would again find room in The Outlook for an appeal on behalf of the Naples Society for the Protection of Animals. The work done by our inspectors during last year was as follows: Extra animals were attached to 25,020 carts and the load of 4,230 others was diminished; 36,638 persons were made to alight from overloaded vehicles, and 23,837 sticks and 179 stakes were confiscated, besides nearly 800 spiked bits and other instruments of torture. There were 7,000 prosecutions, and 2,080 animals were humanely destroyed in lethal chambers at the Society's office or by its agents at the Municipal Dogs Depot. I will not trespass on your space with further details, but will only add that the need of pecuniary aid is urgent, as building operations in Naples are increasing on all sides, whilst our funds have fallen off lamentably of late; this has necessitated reducing our staff of inspectors, which has caused a great increase in the sufferings of animals. Subscriptions and donations will be thankfully received and promptly acknowledged by Miss P. H. Jonston (Honorable Secretary), The Beeches, Carlisle; by Mr. C. Calvello (Director), 2 Via Vittoria, Naples; or by myself at 7 Chiatamone, Naples.

E. L. M. (Princess) MELE BARESE,
(*née* MACKWORTH PRAED)
President of the Naples Society for the Protection of Animals.

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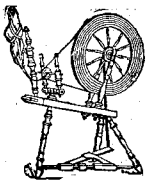

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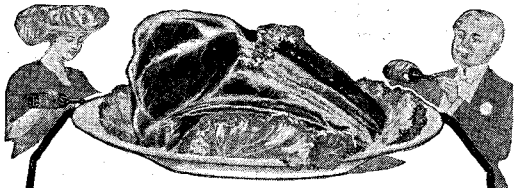

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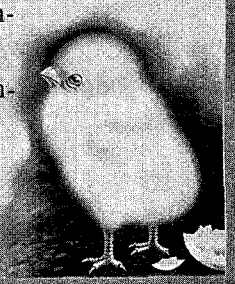

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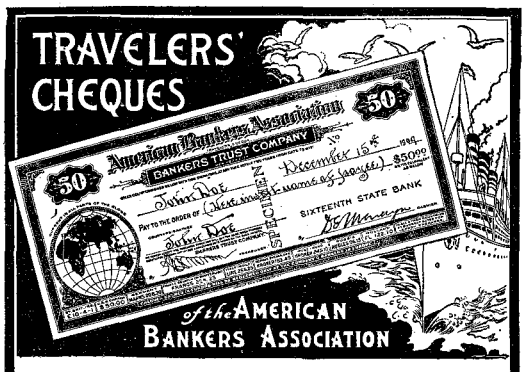

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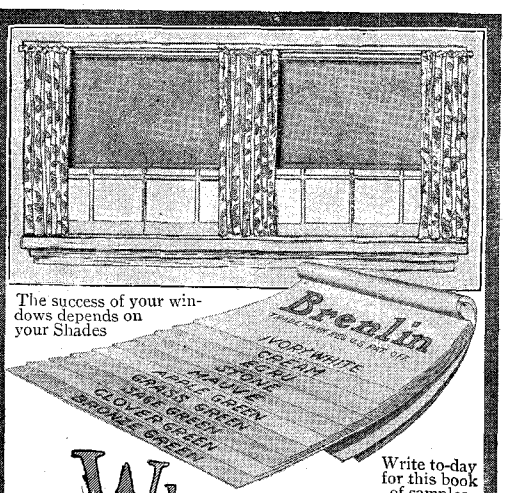

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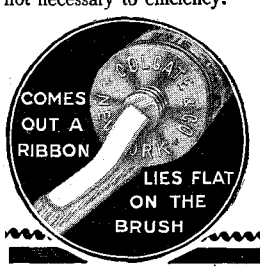

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